DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 475 808 SO 034 285

AUTHOR	Selig, Ruth O., Ed.; Brooks, Alison S., Ed.; Lanouette, JoAnne, Ed.
TITLE	AnthroNotes: Museum of Natural History Publications for Educators, 2002.
INSTITUTION	Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. National Museum of Natural History.
PUB DATE	2002-00-00
NOTE	42p.; Published twice per year. Originally part of the George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program funded by the National Science Foundation.
AVAILABLE FROM	Anthropology Outreach Office, Dept. of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, 10th Street & Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20560-0112. Tel: 202-357-1592; Fax: 202-357-2208; e-mail: anthroutreach@nmnh.si.edu; Web site: http://www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro/ outreach/outrch1.html.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	AnthroNotes ; v23 n1-2 Win/Spr-Fall 2002
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Anthropology; *Asian History; *Cultural Context; Foreign Countries; *Refugees; Resource Materials; Secondary Education; Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Afghanistan; Chinese Civilization; Middle East; *Repatriation; *Silk Road; Smithsonian Institution

ABSTRACT

The journal is intended for anthropologists, archaeologists, teachers, museum and other professionals interested in the wider dissemination of anthropology, particularly in schools. It offers in-depth articles on current anthropological research, teaching activities, and reviews of new resources. The winter/spring issue contains four sections: (1) "The Silk Road: The Making of a Global Cultural Economy" (Richard Kurin); (2) "Teacher's Corner: The Silk Road Big Map" (Betty Belanus, Comp.; Merrill Feather, Comp.); (3) "Selected Web Resources on the Middle East" (Margaret R. Dittemore); and (4) "Afghanistan in the Classroom" (Audrey Shalinsky). The fall issue contains four sections: (1) "Refugees: Worldwide Displacement and International Response" (Stephen C. Lubkemann); (2) "Teacher's Corner: Refugee Internet Resources" (Janet Soller); (3) "In Praise of Robert L. Humphrey October 7, 1939-November 15, 2002"; and (4) "Repatriation at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History" (William T. Billeck). (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 475 808

AnthroNotes: Museum of Natural History Publications for Educators, 2002.

Ruth O. Selig Editor
Alison S. Brooks, Editor
JoAnne Lanouette, Editor

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
Museum of Natural History.

SO 034 285

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ANTHRONOTES
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY PUBLICATION FOR EDUCATORS
VOLUME 23 NO. 1 WINTER/SPRING 2002

THE SILK ROAD
The Making of a Global Cultural Economy

by Richard Kurin

❖❖❖

[Editors' Note: In the Summer of 2002 on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., the Smithsonian Folklife Festival will feature over 350 artists, musicians, and scholars from 20 nations demonstrating the cultural traditions and stories of the Silk Road, a network of ancient trade routes. The Smithsonian is working closely with famed cellist Yo-Yo Ma and his Silk Road Project as well as with researchers and educators to produce the Folklife Silk Road Festival Program. For those who have not witnessed the silk paper-making of Western China, the silk-weaving of Uzbekistan, the Benares silk sari-making from India, the sounds of silk-stringed Japanese instruments, or the silk carpet-making of Turkmen masters, this is an opportunity to glimpse first-hand the purveyors of important long-lived traditions. Visitors will have an exciting opportunity to meet people from the cultures of the region as artists and musicians share skills and knowledge, connect cultures, and build trust along a contemporary, transnational form of the modern Silk Road. See www.si.edu/folklife, or www.silkroadproject.org]

Significance of the Silk Road

The Silk Road spanned the Asian continent and represented a form of global economy when the known world was smaller but more difficult to traverse than nowadays. The network of trading routes known as the Silk Road stretched from China to Japan in the East and to Turkey and Italy in the West, encompassing Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, and the other lands of Central Asia, and linking the ancient Mediterranean world to the empires of China. For thousands of years, highly valued silk, cotton, wool, glass, jade, lapis lazuli, metals, salt, spices, tea, herbal medicines, fruits, flowers, horses, and musical instruments moved back and forth along various portions of the Silk Road. Each item has a history, many connected to contemporary life. Consider, for example, stringed-musical instruments. In Central Asia, *faqīrs* or Muslim mystics still play a one-stringed instrument called quite simply the "*ektār*." "*Tār* " means string, and the "e" or "one" string is taken metaphorically to refer to one God. In Iran there is the *dutār* (literally "two strings") and in India, the multi-stringed *sitār*. The terminology is linguistically related to the Greek term "cithara," the Arabic term "quitara," and our English term "zither," all referring to stringed instruments. A short lute with four pairs of strings developed in 15th century Spain and was called the *guitara*. By the 19th century, it had been transformed into a six-stringed instrument with other modifications and came to America as the guitar, the key instrument of folk and country music, and in electrified form, of rock 'n' roll.

The Silk Road provides us with a symbol for complex cultural exchange. For contemporary cellist Yo-Yo Ma, the Silk Road answers the question: What happens when strangers meet? Historically along the Silk Road when strangers met

AnthroNotes Receives SAA Award For Excellence In Public Education

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

in bazaars, courts, oases, and *caravanserai* (caravan rest houses), they shared and exchanged their goods and ideas. They traded the finest goods produced by their respective native master artisans and created new things—instruments, songs, food, clothing, and philosophies. The historical Silk Road teaches us a lesson—the importance of connecting different peoples and cultures together as a way of encouraging human creativity. "Now, more than ever,"Yo-Yo Ma observes, "we cannot afford not to know the thoughts, the habits, the ways of life of other people." The famed musician has illustrated this lesson by forming a Silk Road Ensemble including artists from Central Asia, East Asia, the Middle East, the United States and Europe. The Ensemble uses a variety of musical instruments from Europe and Asia to bridge different musical languages and cultures. "Our goal is to make innovation and tradition sit down together," explains Yo-Yo Ma.

The Silk Road Project includes concerts around the world, commissions of new musical pieces, educational events, and publications. The project will continue through the summer of 2002, with the Smithsonian Folklife Festival on the Mall, and beyond.

Where Was The Silk Road?

The Silk Road was actually a network of thousands of miles of land and sea trade routes traversing regions of Asia, connecting markets and centers of cultural production in China, India, Central Asia, Iran, and the Middle East, and extending to those in Europe, Japan, Southeast Asia and Africa. Specifically, the roads were those taken by caravans and extended out from the old city of Chang' an, which was the capital of China until 1215, when Genghis Khan established a new capital in Beijing. Chang'an (also called Xi'an since the 19th century) was the world's largest city in the year 1000 A.D. Silk Road routes beginning in Chang'an extended to the Buddhist center of Dunhuang, diverging both to the north and to the south of the Taklamakan Desert, running through the Central Asian market towns of Kashgar, Samarkand, Bukhara, and Tashkent, crossing the Persian plateau into Baghdad, and ending at the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea in the Levantine towns of Antioch and Tyre and in the Anatolian ports such as Constantinople (Istanbul). Extending from these roads were many terrestrial and maritime extensions, eastward from China to Korea and across the East China Sea to Japan and its old capital, Nara. Routes turned

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

northward from China to Mongolia, southward from China into Burma and then into what is now Bengal, southward from Central Asia through Afghanistan, the Buddhist site of Bamiyan, the mountain passes into Kashmir, Pakistan, and India; and northward from the Persian plateau through the Caucasus mountain regions of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Silk routes also ran alternatively southward along the Persian Gulf, north to Basra, and west into the Arabian Peninsula, then north through Turkey to Istanbul, and across the Mediterranean into the Balkans, or to Venice. From these points, the network extended still further, to the coastal towns of South India and along the East coast of Africa past Zanzibar and across North Africa and the Mediterranean to Morocco and Spain, and north through the Balkans to Romania and Western Europe.

The Silk Road developed because the goods traded were quite valuable and useful, worth the trouble of transporting them great distances. Roads were generally in disrepair. Caravans had to brave bleak deserts, high mountains, extreme heat and cold. They had to face bandits and raiders, imprisonment, starvation, and other forms of deprivation. Those going by sea braved the uncertainties of weather, poorly constructed ships, and pirates. Yet luxury goods traveled in both directions along the Silk Road, and included silk, spices, tea, precious metals, fine artwork and crafts—goods that were in demand and commanded high prices and often courtly rewards. While many items were traded along the Silk Road, it was silk that had an exceedingly long history and was among the most valuable of goods traded.

Silk Production

Silk cultivation and production is such an extraordinary process that it is easy to see why its earliest invention is unknown, and its discovery eluded many who sought to learn its secrets. Silk is made from the secretions of certain kinds of worms. These secretions dry into a filament that forms a cocoon. The origins of silk making as well as the methods for unraveling the cocoons and reeling the

Silkworms and cocoons shown in a specially woven frame used by sericulturalists in India. photo © Jean-Luc Ray, the Aga Khan Foundation. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution.

silk filament are shrouded in legend and mystery. In the Yangzi Valley in South China, 6000-7000 year-old silk cloth fragments and a cup carved with a silkworm design suggest that silk was cultivated from the time of the first Chinese farming villages. Dated fragments of silk fabric have been found in the southern coastal region (Zhejiang Province) from 3000 B.C. (5000 years ago), and a silkworm cocoon found in the Yellow River valley of North China from ca. 2500 B.C.

There are several types of silkworms in Asia. One of the native Chinese varieties has the scientific name *Bombyx mori*. It is a blind, flightless moth that lays about 400 eggs in four to six days and then dies. The eggs must be kept at a warm temperature. The worms or caterpillars hatch and feast on chopped up leaves of the white mulberry tree 24 hours a day for about five weeks, growing about 10,000 times their original weight. When large enough, in three to four days, the worms produce, through their glands, a liquid gel that dries into a thread-like filament, wraps around itself, and forms a cocoon. The amazing feature of the *Bombyx mori* is that its filament, generally between 600-1200 yards long, can be unwrapped. If seen in cross-section, its filament is round (others are flat) and very strong. To "unwind" the filament, the cocoons are boiled. This kills the pupae inside and dissolves the gum resin or seracin that holds the cocoon together. The

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

cocoons may then be soaked in warm water and unwound, or be dried for storage, sale, and shipment. To make silk, the cocoon filament is unwrapped by hand and then wrapped onto reels. Several filaments are combined to form a silk thread. An ounce of eggs produces worms requiring a ton of leaves to eat, resulting in 30,000 cocoons producing about 12 pounds of raw silk. The silk threads may then be woven together, often with other yarn, and dyed to make all sorts of products. The Chinese traditionally incubated the eggs during the spring, timing their hatching as the mulberry trees were coming to leaf. Typically, silk production was women's work, intensive, difficult, and time consuming.

Silk has long been considered a special type of cloth; it keeps one cool in the summer and warm in the winter. It is good at holding color dyes and drapes the body particularly well. It is very strong, resistant to rot and to fire. Early in Chinese history, silk was used for clothing the Emperor, but its use eventually extended widely throughout the society. Silk proved to have other valuable uses—for making fishing lines, paper, and musical instrument strings.

Naming The Silk Road

The term "Silk Road" in modern usage grows out of the fascination with cultural diffusion, particularly in 19th century Germany and England. The term was first used by the German geologist, traveler and economic historian, Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen. In a paper published in 1877, he coined the term "*Seidenstrassen*" or "Silk Roads" in referring to the Central Asian land bridge between China and Europe. Richthofen conceived of Central Asia as a subcontinent—a region that not only connected distant civilizations, but also provided a source of cultural creativity in its own right.

Richthofen's formulation paralleled those of others who were discovering and articulating a variety of trade, migration, and cultural diffusion routes connecting Asia and Europe. European scholarly explorations of the region and debates over its connections to other lands and civilizations were lively, coinciding with important empirical findings in linguistics, archaeology and biology.

Three Silk Road Periods

The Silk Roads were used continuously for millennia, promoting the exchange of goods but also culture including poetry, literature, art and music. Conventionally historians refer to three particularly intensified periods of exchange.

The first period (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.) involved trade between the ancient Chinese Han Dynasty and Central Asia, extending all the way to Rome and Egypt.

The second period (618 A.D. to 907 A.D.) involved trade between China during the Tang Dynasty and Central Asia, Byzantium, the Arab Umayyad and Abbasid empires, the Sassanian Persian empire, and India, coinciding with the spread of Buddhism and later the expansion of Islam as well as Nestorian Christianity into Central Asia.

The third period (13th and 14th centuries) involved trade between China, Central Asia, Persia, India, and early modern Europe, enabled by Mongol control of most of the Silk Roads.

Some add a pre-Silk Road period during which silks from China and India made their way to ancient Greece and perhaps Egypt. For example, near the Valley of the Kings in Egypt a female mummy was buried with silk in 1070 B.C. Others add a modern Silk Road period beginning in the 19th century with the "Great Game"—competition between Britain and Russia for influence over Central Asia—and extending through today.

From Han China to Rome

Under the Han dynasty (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.), silk became a great trade item, used for royal gifts and tribute. It also became a generalized medium of exchange, like gold or money. Civil servants were paid in silk. Chinese farmers paid their taxes in silk.

The Chinese traded silk widely, but closely guarded the method of silk production from outsiders. Sericulture (the raising of silkworms) traveled eastward, first with

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Chinese immigrants to Korea in about 200 B.C. and then to Japan in the third century A.D.

By the first century B.C., silk had traveled to Egypt and Rome, though the Romans did not know how it was made. Coinciding with the development of ruling elites and the beginnings of empire, silk became associated with wealth and power—Julius Caesar entered Rome in triumph under silk canopies. Regarded as "delicate" material, silk was associated with female apparel; in 14 B.C. the Roman Senate forbade males from wearing it, to no avail. Over the next thee centuries, silk imports increased, especially with the *Pax Romana* of the early Emperors that opened up trade routes in Asia Minor and the Middle East. Roman glass made its way back to China, as did asbestos, amber and red coral. The Romans spent increasing wealth on silk, leading to a drain of precious metals. Several warned of its deleterious consequences. Yet silk became a medium of exchange and tribute, and when in 408 A.D. Alaric the Visigoth besieged Rome, he demanded and received as ransom five thousand pounds of gold and four thousand tunics of silk.

Tang Silk Road: Connecting Cultures

Silk continued to be popular in the Mediterranean even as Rome declined. In Byzantium, the eastern successor of the Roman state, silk purchases accounted for a large drain on the treasury. How silk making came to the "West" is unclear though legend has it that silk worms were smuggled out of China by two Nestorain monks and brought to Constantinople (Istanbul). Under Byzantine Emperor Justinian I, Constantinople became a center of silk production, its cloth used throughout Europe for religious vestments and aristocratic dress. The Persians too acquired the knowledge of silk production.

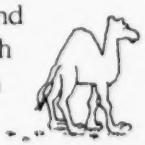
A second Silk Road developed under the Tang dynasty in China (618 to 907 A.D.). Though Central Asians had learned silk cultivation, Chinese silks were still in demand given their exceptional quality. The Tang rulers, like their Han ancestors, needed horses for their military. The best horses were in the "West," held by nomads of the steppes and the people of the Ferghana, in what is now Uzbeckistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The Tang traded silk for horses, 40 bolts for each pony in the 8th century.

The growth of silk as a trade item both stimulated and characterized other types of exchanges during this era. Caravans and ships carried silk, but also gemstones, precious metals, and other goods. Not only did materials move, but also designs and motifs as well as techniques for weaving and embroidering silk. Chinese silk weaving was influenced by Central Asian, Persian Sassanian and Indian patterns and styles. For example, Chinese weavers adapted the Assyrian tree of life, beaded roundels, and bearded horsemen on winged horses from the Sassanians, and the use of gold wrapped thread, the conch shell, lotus, and endless knot designs from the Indians. During the Tang dynasty, cultural exchange based upon silk reached its apex.

Cultural exchange went beyond silks. Curative herbs, ideas of astronomy, and even religion moved along the Silk Road network. Arabs traveled to India and China; Chinese traveled to Central Asia, India, and Persia. Buddhism itself was carried along these roads from India to Tibet and into China. Islam was carried by Sufi teachers and by armies, moving across the continent from Western Asia into Persia and Central Asia and into China and India. Martial arts, sacred arts like calligraphy, tile making, and painting also traversed these roads. The Tang capital city of Chang'an became a cosmopolitan city, peopled with traders from all along the Silk Road, as well as monks, missionaries, and emissaries from across the continent.

Mongol Silk Road (Marco Polo)

The transcontinental exchange diminished in the later Middle Ages, and in Europe knowledge of the East receded in memory, as did the connection of European history to its own ancient Greek and Roman roots. The Christian Crusades to the Middle East and the Holy Land, from 1096 to the mid-1200s, brought many Europeans and Muslims into contact, and the Moorish influence in Spain rekindled European interest in Asia. The Moors brought



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

silk production to Spain and Sicily in the 11th century. Through Arab scholars, Europeans gained access to Indian and Chinese advances in medicine, chemistry, and mathematics, and also access to ancient Greek and Roman civilizations that had survived in Arabic translations and commentaries. The availability of this knowledge helped fuel the Renaissance in Europe, with the growth of trade and cities, guilds, arts, and scholarship. Mediterranean city-states, like Venice, Genoa, and Barcelona, prospered creatively and commercially.

One Venetian, Marco Polo, traveled across Asia by land and sea over a period of 24 years beginning in 1271. The tales of his travels spurred broad European interest. He told of the Mongols who under Genghis Khan and his successor Kublai Khan had taken over China and expanded their dominion across Asia, into Central Asia, India, Persia, and Asia Minor. Marco Polo narrated fantastic tales of the lands he had visited, the great sites he had seen, and the vast treasures of Asia. He was one of several European travelers of the time; others included emissaries of the Pope seeking alliances with the Mongols.

The 13th and 14th centuries were characterized by considerable political, commercial, and religious competition between kingdoms, markets, and sects across Eurasia. The Mongols, whose empire extended from the Pacific to the Black Sea, were, through a mixture of hegemony and brutality, able to assure a measure of peace within their domains, a *Pax Mongolica*. They were also quite tolerant of diversity in the arts and religion. Their ancient Mongolian capital, Qaraqorum, hosted 12 Buddhist temples, two mosques and one church. Kublai Khan hosted European, Chinese, Persian, and Arab astronomers and established an Institute of Muslim Astronomy. He also established an Imperial Academy of Medicine, including Indian, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and Chinese physicians. European, Persian, Chinese, Arab, Armenian, and Russian traders and missionaries traveled the Silk Road, and in 1335 a Mongol mission to the Pope at Avignon reflected increased trade and cultural contacts.

While silk was still a highly valued Chinese export, it was not the primary commodity of this "third" Silk Road. Silk production was known in the Arab world and had spread to southern Europe. Silk weavers, relocated from Constantinople to northern Italy, energized the development of silk tapestry as Renaissance art. Europeans wanted pearls and precious gems, spices, precious metals and medicines, ceramics, carpets, other fabrics, and lacquerware. All kingdoms needed horses, weapons, and armaments.

Commercial trade and competition was of great importance by the 15th century with the growth of European cities, guilds, and royal states. The trade in silk and other goods helped fuel the commercial transformation of western Europe. French King Charles VII and the Dukes of Burgundy participated strongly in the silk and luxuries trade. Markets were established in Bruges, Amsterdam, and Lyon. But trading overland with China, Persia, and India was neither the most reliable nor most economical means for European rulers to acquire silk and other luxury goods.

With the decline of Mongol power and the rise of the Ottomons, control over trade routes was vital. Indeed, the motivation behind Portuguese explorations of a sea route to India and East Asia was to assure safer and cheaper passage of trade goods than could be secured by depending upon land caravans subject to exorbitant protection fees or raiding by bandits. The Ottomon Empire, which held sway over much of Central Asia, controlled the land routes and prevented direct European trade with the East. Indeed, it was the search for a sea route to the East that led Columbus westward to the "New World." After Vasco de Gama found the sea route to India, other European explorers opened up direct shipping links with China. Overland contact between Western Europe and Central Asia decreased dramatically.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Afghan nomads make their annual trek from lower Badakhshan Province to the rich grazing lands of Shiwa Valley for the summer. Photo ***©Ali Naemi, The Aga Khan Foundation.***

From Japan to Jersey

European rulers wanted to control their own silk trade through its direct production. The Italian silk industry was emulated by the French, centered in Lyon in the 1500s. The English developed their own silk industry, tried silk cultivation in Ireland, and even in the New World. King James I was a silk enthusiast. Mulberry trees and silkworms went with settlers to Jamestown, Virginia in the early 1600s. Refugee French Huguenot artisans were encouraged to inhabit the new colony. Silk cultivation was successful but only for a time, and was followed with other attempts later in Georgia, among the 19th century Harmonists in Pennsylvania and even the Shakers in Kentucky. Still, imported silks showed the long reach of an international trade. Silk kerchiefs were imported from India and worn by cowboys in the American West who called them bandannas, a variant of the Bengali term *bandhānī* (binding).

By the mid–1800s silk weaving was industrialized with the invention of new looms and synthetic dying processes, allowing for mass-produced lines of silk clothing and furnishing. Raw silk was shipped from cultivation centers to design and production factories to meet the demand of the period. This extended to the United States, as raw silk was imported from Japan, dyed in the soft waters of the Passaic River, and distributed through companies headquartered in Patterson, New Jersey—dubbed America's Silk City. Silk as a valuable traded commodity both epitomized and played a major role in the early development of what we now characterize as a global economy.

Silk Road Stories

Just as there was not one Silk Road, nor one historical period or product, there also is not one story that conveys the essence of the Silk Road. Scholars working on the Silk Road have found a variety of stories to tell.

J. Mark Kenoyer, an archaeologist at the University of Wisconsin, digs every year in Harappa, the ancient Indus Valley site. He has found sea shells, lapis lazuli, carnelian and other beads that indicate contact with other major urban centers in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Baluchistan, Central Asia, and possibly even China. For him, the Silk Road reaches way back, to somewhere around 2500 to 3000 B.C. The same land and sea routes that may have carried ancient silk also carried beads as trade items. Following the beads is a way of ascertaining cultural contact and of understanding the growth of various centers of civilization.

The global stretch of the Silk Road is well illustrated by the story of porcelain. Many Americans keep their "china" in cabinets attesting to its value. But how many think of it as Chinese? Chinese porcelain made its way around the world. Yankee clipper ships brought it to New England. Europeans imitated it and still do, as with Delftware from The Netherlands. Calling fine ceramics "china" is something Americans share with Turks. Indiana University folklorist Henry Glassie has done extensive studies of porcelain and "*çinī*" in Turkey. One type, the ubiquitous blue and white-ware, originated in Jingdezhen, China. Jiangdezhen was an important center of ceramics manufacture; it was located in south China just north of Guangdong (Canton). Under the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), some 700 artisans turned the rich kaolin clay into vases, plates and other types of ceramics for the Emperor. (The blue color, however, came from cobalt mined in Persia.) When the first Mongols invaded China in 1126 A.D., the Song rulers fled their northern capital and went south to Hangzhou in Jiangxi Province; the royal potters fled to nearby Jiangdezhen.

Under the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), the fine blue and white porcelain was traded along the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Silk Road to Turkey. The Turks found their own way of imitating and producing the porcelain. Interestingly, Chinese designs were replaced with new visual elements. Plates featured Islamic calligraphy with phrases of the Qur'an [Koran] crafted in elaborate styles. Floral arrangements of fruits, flowers, and leaves encoded images of spiritual significance. The tradition is still vital. Glassie, conducting field research in the major Turkish center, Kutahya, reports thousands of potters at work. Their art is visionary, as the resulting plates become objects of meditation and reflection.

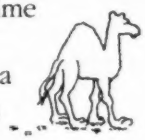
For Ted Levin, a Dartmouth ethnomusicologist and Silk Road Project curatorial director, the Silk Road tells a tale of musical invention, diffusion, and continual transformation. Levin and his colleague Jean During of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture have studied *maqām*, a classical, learned musical tradition that spread through Islamic Azerbaijan, Persia, Transoxania, and western China, influencing the music of the Indian subcontinent. This is a tradition as complex and sophisticated as the Western classical tradition, only predating it by hundreds of years. While it continues as an art or courtly music, it also adapts to new settings. Levin has found this music in the United States among Bukharan Jewish immigrant musicians from Uzbekistan playing at community functions in New Jersey and restaurants in Queens, New York. Here, the musical tradition is possessed with a new vitality, symbolizing the identity of a people in a new home.

Similarly rich stories can be told of a variety of Silk Road commodities. Richard Kennedy, Smithsonian cultural historian and curator of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival Silk Road program, likes the paper story. He notes how paper, first made by the Chinese, was then picked up by the Arabs and eventually brought to Europe in the 1400s, enabling the revolution in printing, one of the key innovations of the modern era. Rajeev Sethi, the Folklife Festival sceneographer, is enamored with the movement of design motifs—trees of life, supernatural winged beings, vines, and stars that traverse the Silk Road expanse.

Ensemble Sabjilar members: Sergei Charkov, Anna Burnakova, and Slava Kuchenov. © Ted Levin 2000, Khakasia.

Polo

My own favorite Silk Road story is that of polo. Scholars trace its origins to somewhere in Central Asia, around 600 B.C. There are many variations, including a rather sophisticated version played by Chinese women during the Tang dynasty. American polo is derived from the game viewed by British soldiers on the northwestern frontier of 19th century colonial India. There, the game known as *bushkashi* is still a raucous, physical exercise of competitive horsemanship. Two large teams play against each other. The field might be a large meadow, with an area or pit designated as the "goal." A goat or calf carcass is the "ball." Horsemen from one side must scoop up the carcass, ride around a pole or designated marker, reverse course, and drop it into the goal. Players use their skill as horsemen and a repertoire of hand-held armaments to either aid or attack the carcass carrier. This is a wild, rough and tumble game in which injuries are common. The social purpose may be sport, but the game teaches and encourages excellent horsemanship skills, precisely those needed to attack caravans, raid towns, and rout opposing forces. Watching the players, you can easily visualize the horsemen descending upon a Silk Road caravan loaded with luxury goods intended for far-off rulers and capitals. In recent months, Afghans celebrated their liberation from the Taliban regime with games of *Bushkashi*.



While polo also evolved as a sport in central Asia, it was Victorian

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Englishmen who turned it into the game that Americans know today. We think of polo as a sophisticated game requiring upper class connections and money to maintain special "ponies" and their stables. Interestingly enough, the story continues. Today, Afghan immigrants to the U.S.A. play a form of "Macho-Polo" that combines the structure of the formal game with the attitude and style of the original. Polo is a fine example of how meanings and practices can be transformed as they move across cultures and time periods, certainly a wonderful Silk Road story.

The Silk Road Today

Today, the Silk Road region, particularly Central Asia, is of immense interest to political and civic leaders, religious figures, corporate entrepreneurs, and a broad international public. The Silk Road skirts the underbelly of the old Soviet Union. Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Krygyzstan were part of that Russian Empire. Other states like Afghanistan and Mongolia were closely related to it. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought new, often competing systems into the region. These new nations are home to ancient cultures. They face a tough question—what type of nations should they become? Should they reform the communist polity and economy they inherited? Should they embrace a Western, capitalistic democracy? Or should they develop new forms of the national state adapting Western and Soviet practices to those of local significance?

Today ideal visions collide with rancorous political factions, rebel movements, the lack of strong civic institutions, and the intransigence of old power holders to keep the region in flux. Even long established nations like China face internal challenges, both with changing political realities and ethnic minorities like Muslim Uighurs and Buddhist Tibetans seeking autonomy. The civil war in Afghanistan between the Taliban and its opponents, the Northern Alliance and various Pushtun tribes, has brought some of these conflicts into American consciousness. Hearing of Silk Road sites—Balkh, Kabul, Kandahar, Jalalabad, the Khyber Pass—on the nightly news has brought history into the present. The future of national stability and viability in the region is unknown.

So too is the issue of how to deal with religion in Central Asia. Should the Muslim majority states of Central Asia incorporate religious law and practice into civil practice? Should they be theocratic? How much diversity both within Islam and among other groups should they accommodate? Should they separate religion from the secular state? Parties from Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan have offered competing visions of the relationship between Islam and the state. These questions emerged dramatically in Afghanistan. When the Taliban, at the behest of al-Qaeda, blew up the Buddhist statues of Bamiyan, the whole world cringed. These statues represented a truly ancient symbol of the Silk Road. In their contemporary state, they stood for an appreciation of a commonly shared though diverse cultural heritage of humanity. These statues' destruction turned out to be an eerie prelude to the attack on the World Trade Center, a thoroughly modern symbol of a world joined in a network of commercial relations. In the aftermath of these events, Central Asians grapple with the question of the proper relationship between religion, society, and the state.

Economic uncertainty has also followed independence from the Soviet Union. Nations struggling to build their own economies must develop local markets, industries and infrastructures, while at the same time participating in an increasingly globalized world economy. Some local entrepreneurs seek to rebuild economies based upon a traditional repertoire of deeply ingrained Silk Road commercial skills. In Pakistan, for example, instead of caravans of decorated camels, beautifully painted trucks in caravan ply the Karakoram Pass, moving trade goods between that nation and China. Transnational corporations seek the development of natural resources, particularly oil, in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and western China. The Silk Road of old will literally become a high-tech pipeline—a slick road, moving the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

valuable commodity of oil across the region to the rest of the world.

Some leaders such as the Aga Khan, an international humanitarian, philanthropist, and leader of the Muslim Ismaili community, see the rebirth of these societies in terms of building an infrastructure that allows for civic and economic development. He and his organization are developing new institutions—universities, hospitals, medical schools, and financial organizations. At the same time, they are encouraging a contemporary revival of traditional knowledge, architecture, and artistry embedded in Central Asian history that will allow local citizens the opportunity to flourish. Given the needs in the region, the work is of immense scope and the prognosis—healthy economies for an educated and skilled citizenry—admirable and hopeful, though far from certain today.

Richard Kurin, Director of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, is a cultural anthropologist who has done much of his fieldwork in India and Pakistan.

For Further Reading

Chambers, James. 1999. *Genghis Khan*. Stroud, UK: Sutton Publishing. (Recommended for high school.)

Elisseeff, Vadime, ed. 2000. *The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce*. Berghanh Books and UNESCO Publishing.

Gilchrist, Cherry. 1999. *Stories From the Silk Road*. Illustrated by Nilesh Mistry. Barefoot Books.

Glassie, Henry. 2000. *The Potter's Art*. Indiana University Press.

Hopkirk, Peter. 1980. *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*. University of Massachusetts Press.

Kennicott, Phillip. 2001. "Harmony of Cultures: Yo-Yo Ma's Silk Road Project Seeks Key to Appreciating Others." *Washington Post* (October 18): C1, 8.

Kurin, Richard. 1998. *Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian*. Smithsonian Institution.

Levin, Theodore. 1996. *The Hundred Thousand Fools of God: Musical Travels in Central Asia*. Indiana University Press.

Liu, Xinru. 1998. *The Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Interactions in Eurasia*. American Historical Association.

MacDonald, Fiona. 1997. *Marco Polo: A Journey Through China*. Illustrated by Mark Bergin. Franklin Watts. (Recommended for elementary-middle school.)

Major, John. 1997. *The Silk Route: 7000 Miles of History*. Harper Trophy. (Recommended for elementary-middle school.)

Scott, Philippa. 1993. *The Book of Silk*. Thames & Hudson, Ltd.

Ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth, ed. 2001. *Along the Silk Road*. Asian Art & Culture Series. Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, in association with the University of Washington Press and the Silk Road Project, Inc.

Whitefield, Susan. 1999. *Life Along the Silk Road*. University of California Press.

Wriggins, Sally Hovey. 1996. *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road*. Westview Press.

Wood, Frances. 1995. *Did Marco Polo Go to China?* Westview Press. (Recommended for high school.)

Magazines

Calliope. February 2002 issue is devoted to the Silk Roads. For more information, see http://www.cobblestonepub.com/pages/callsilkroads.html In addition, *Muse*, *Click* and *Ask*, the three magazines published by Carus Publications in conjunction with *Smithsonian* magazine, will have Silk Road topics included in their Spring issues. For more information, see http://www.musemag.com

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TEACHER'S CORNER: THE SILK ROAD BIG MAP

compiled by Betty Belanus and Merrill Feather

◆◆◆

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival's Silk Road Program will offer educators a wealth of first–hand experiences with contemporary practitioners of the arts and the skills that made the ancient trade route famous.

This map activity is excerpted from the kit, *Silk Road Encounters*, a project of the Silk Road Project, Inc. made possible by the Ford Motor Company with additional resources provided by the Asia Society. Designed for elementary grades through high school, this activity will help students create their own large-format map of the Silk Road, which can serve as the basis for further study, both historical and contemporary. Since many of the countries along the Silk Road have been in the news recently, this map can have multiple uses.

You can order free-of-charge the whole *Silk Road Encounters* kit, which includes a teacher's guide, source book, CD sampler of Silk Road musical instruments, a set of 11 slides, and a 30-minute video. Order from: http://teachers.silkroadproject.org You can also download the text of the teacher's guide and source book from the web site. Those unable to attend the Festival can make a virtual visit to the Silk Road trade routes via the Internet or through Folkways Recordings at www.folkways.si.edu

This "Teacher's Corner" will require three to four class periods. **For this activity, refer to the Silk Road map on page 2.**

BIG MAP ACTIVITY

Overview

Using a projected map outline, students will generate an oversized rendition of the Silk Road trade routes from Europe to East Asia. Students will then apply elements such as political and topographic features, the Silk Road, products of the regions, and the travel routes of key travelers. Students may continually add information to the map, and the map may be used as a reference tool throughout the teaching unit.

Objective. Students will

- locate and map key topographic features along the Silk Road.
- identify and map the Silk Road, key cities, and trade products.
- generate and use a map key.
- gain an understanding and appreciation of the terrain along the Silk Road.

Materials

- overhead projectors
- overhead transparencies of a simple outline map of Europe and Asia, preferably with rivers but no writing. The transparencies can be made by copying a reproducible map onto an acetate transparency in a copy machine. See suggestions in reference section for places to find maps. Use one transparency per projector.
- tape
- permanent markers
- colored pencils
- one poster board or 3-foot by 5-foot piece of butcher paper for each student
- atlases
- reference materials (texts or Internet access)

Procedure

1. Set up as many overhead projectors as possible. Each overhead should be arranged to project the map image onto butcher paper or poster board that has been taped to a smooth wall surface. Center the image so that it fills the entire paper, then tape the transparency to the overhead projector's surface to avoid slippage.

2. Have students work in pairs to trace the outline of the map and rivers using permanent markers. Avoid jostling the overhead as it is difficult to realign the image. Tracing requires about 20 minutes per map. Trace the following:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

- geo-physical features, including deserts, mountains, plateaus, and bodies of water
- political features, including key cities, empires, or countries
- The Silk Road routes as they extend from Europe to East Asia
- Silk Road products of key regions (use symbols placed along the routes and a product key, attached separately to keep the map uncluttered)
- routes of famous travelers of the Silk Road regions
- a key for the mapped features

Older students can include additional information, such as animals, crops, mineral deposits, cultural monuments, or majority religions. Consider working on the maps intermittently through a larger unit, adding layers of information each time. Maps can be used as reference tools throughout the study period.

Extensions

Have students make up a list of ten questions that can be answered by using their Big Maps. For example: "What is the name of an oasis city on the Southern Silk Road." "What desert did Chinese caravans heading west first encounter?" Exchange questions among students to review their knowledge and test the accuracy of their maps.

References

Bonavia, Judy. 1999. *The Silk Road: From Xi'an to Kashgar*. Revised by William Lindesay and Wu Qi. Hong Kong: Odyssey.
This travel guide has exceptional illustrations and maps for use with middle or upper grades.

Major, John. 1997. *The Silk Route: 7000 Miles of History*. Harper Trophy.
This is a good review for young children of the geographical route, major cities, and products that were moved along the Silk Roads.

Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE). 1993. *Along the Silk Road: People, Interaction, and Cultural Exchange*. Stanford University.
This curriculum resource contains excellent maps for use in creating the "big maps."

Travel the Silk Road Via the Web

The Asia Society, dedicated to teaching and learning about Asia: http://www.AskAsia.org

The Silk Road Foundation contains maps, timelines, and extensive bibliography on travelers and cities on the Silk Road: http://www.silk-road.com; wysiwyg://main.286/http://www.silk-road.com/artl/silkhistory.shtml. On the history of silk.

The China Page has good reference maps: http://chinapage.com/silksite.html

http://library.thinkquest.org/13406/sr/ Contains a map that links Europe and Asia through trade.

http://www.schirmer.com/silkroad/timeline.html
Provides a timeline of events.

Hear the Silk Road on Folkways Recordings

"The Silk Road: A Musical Caravan" is a 2-CD sampler of the extraordinary range of instrumental and vocal music from Iran, Japan, China, Turkey, Afghanistan, Mongolia and a host of other Central and East Asian countries. The recording will be available this spring through Folkways Recordings.

Other Folkways Recordings of interest to educators include:
Bukhara: Musical Crossroads of Asia (SF 40050); *Tuva, Among the Spirits: Sound, Music and Nature in Sakina and Tuva* (SF 40452); *Classical Music of Iran: The Dastgah Systems* (SF 40039); and *Richard Hagopian: Armenian Music Through the Ages* (SF 40414). Each of these recordings includes extensive liner notes placing the music in historical, geographic and cultural context. You can search the Folkways catalog on-line or order recordings at: www.folkways.si.edu or call: 1-800-410-9815 in U.S. and 202-275-1143 internationally.

Betty Belanus is an education specialist and Merrill Feather an intern in the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SELECTED WEB RESOURCES ON THE MIDDLE EAST

by Margaret R. Dittemore

◆◆◆

The Middle East is a large region stretching from Morocco in the west through Pakistan in the east and from Turkey in the north to the Gulf of Aden in the south. This diverse region includes many people of different ethnic backgrounds, sets of beliefs and ways of life. The following list of annotated web sites will touch on that diversity, but emphasizes the religion of Islam and the Muslim people who practice it. Once again, the Internet provides teachers and students alike with access to primary sources and teaching/study materials not often available in schools or even smaller colleges and universities. Below are some examples:

GENERAL RESOURCES

Middle East Network Information Center (http://link.lanic.utexas.edu/menic/) Also referred to as UT-MENIC or MENIC. Launched in 1993 by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin, it is an excellent gateway to a wealth of resources on this region. Access information by broad subject headings such as ancient history, news and media, and society; by country, ranging from Afghanistan to Yemen; or by research resource headings, such as historical records and resources. Includes a section on outreach to both the community and educators nationwide and on K-12 Educational Resources (see below).

Middle East Studies Internet Resources (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/mideast/cuvlm) Compilation of resources by subject specialists at Columbia University. Gateway to a large number of sites with information about Islam, Middle East and North Africa, covering historical and current events. Organized by region, country and subject. Also includes sections on images and graphics, news sources, electronic journals, and newspapers.

Library of Congress Country Studies (http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/cshome.html)Online versions of books previously published in print between 1988 to 1998 by LC's Federal Research Division. Each study includes a description and analysis of a country's historical setting and its social, economic, and political systems and institutions. Check the "Research Completed" data at the beginning of each study to verify timeliness. See also the 2001 volumes of **The World Factbook** (http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/), a somewhat similar series produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Internet Islamic History Sourcebook (http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/islam/islamsbook.html) Great site with a large number of links to Islamic history as well as some art, religion, and culture. Organized chronologically beginning with pre-Islamic Arab world and continuing to modern times and events. Includes primary source material (much in translation), secondary articles, reviews, and topical discussions, and other web sites and resources. A part of Paul Halsall's **Internet History Sourcebook Project**.

Encyclopedia of the Orient (http://i-cias.com/e.o/index.htm) Offers short descriptions and links to longer articles about the Middle East and especially North Africa for high school students and teachers.

ABZU: Guide to Resources for the Study of the Ancient Near East Available on the Internet (http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/ABZU/ABZU.HTML) An excellent gateway to a vast array of exciting sites on this topic. See also **Egypt and the Ancient Near East: Web Resources for Young People and Teachers** (http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/ABZU/YOUTH_RESOURCES.HTML). Both are projects and publications of the Research Archives of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

(continued on next page)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TEACHING STRATEGIES/RESOURCES

Middle East Network Information Center (http://link.lanic.utexas.edu/menic/) Very wide offerings for K-12 educators and students. Its homepage has sections on Services for K-12 Educators and Students, including online resources, teacher workshops, exhibits, and a resource center from which materials can be borrowed. The section on K-12 Education Resources includes more teacher resources, interactive sites for K-12 students, organizations with catalogues of educational resources, and a sample section of online lessons and lesson plans.

Teaching Islamic Civilization with Information Technology (http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol1no1/teach-islamic.html) Published in the *Journal of MultiMedia History* 1(1), Fall 1998 by Professor Corinne Blake. A critical review and selection of primary materials on the Internet and on CD-ROM for teaching Islamic civilization and a discussion of methods and issues related to incorporating them into courses. Includes sections on the religion of Islam, Islamic literature, Islamic art and architecture, and miscellaneous tools (maps, etc.).

Teaching Middle East Anthropology (http://www.aaanet.org/mes/teach.htm) A number of course syllabi (outlines, materials used, grading methods, etc) on this topic contributed by college and university faculty. Also includes selection of ethnographic films and bibliography of better known ethnographies, writings, and samplings of recent articles and books. Site is part of MESNET, produced by the Middle East Section of the American Anthropological Association.

Islam for Children (http://atschool.eduweb.co.uk/carolrb/islam/islamintro.html) A clearly written and well illustrated presentation of Islam, Muhammad, the Our'an, the Five Pillars of Wisdom, festivals, mosques, Islamic art, family and daily life, etc. Part of the RE Agreed Syllabus for Oxfordshire, England students learning about world religions. See also **Islam UK** (http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/introduction/index.shtml) produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation for a concise introduction aimed at an older group. For advanced students and teachers, see Professor Godlas' **Islamic Studies, Islam, Arabic and Religion** (http://arches.uga.edu/%7Egodlas/), a scholarly overview with links to a variety of other sites, including September 11 and its aftermath. (Be sure to read the *Chronicle of Higher Education*'s review of it. The link is towards the end of the webpage.)

History/Social Studies For K-12 Teachers (http://www.execpc.com/~dboals/boals.html/) Click on Non-Western history and then on Middle East for a wide assortment of sites ranging from prehistoric times to current events. Offered to promote the use of the Web and assist K-12 teachers in locating and using these resources in the classroom.

Teaching About Islam and Muslims in the Public School Classroom 3rd edition (1995) Produced by the Council on Islamic Education (CIE) and available for purchase or print-out (53 pages) at their website (http://www.cie.org). Very useful for anyone interested in this topic. The CIE website also includes a number of other good teaching units and information for educators as well as for publishers, parents and students. Very good resources both for teaching non-Muslims and for increasing educators' awareness of needs of Muslim students.

A number of teaching videos have companion websites with lesson plans, activities and the like. Among these are: **Islam: Empire of Faith** (http://www.pbs.org/empires/islam/), which accompanies the PBS video series by same title and **Meet Sa'ud** (http://www.amideast.org/meet_saud), which accompanies *Young Voices from the Arab World: The Lives and Times of Five Teenagers*. Videos available at sites.

Teach Yourself a New Language (http://menic.utexas.edu/menic/hemispheres/online.html) Take a look with your students at a few

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of the languages spoken in the Middle East, including Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Assyrian/Aramaic and Tamazgha or download **Glyph Tutor** and learn to read Egyptian heiroglyphs. Students can also see their names or other text written in hieroglyphics at **Your Name in Hierogylphics** (http://www.horus.ics.org.eg/html/your_name_in_hieroglyphics.html). Check out **Marhaba: Welcome to the World of Arabic** (http://mec.sas.upenn.edu/arabic.html), an introduction to the Arabic language and civilization for grades 4-8 conducted last year by the University of Pennsylvania's Middle East Center and the School District of Philadelphia. Finally, see **Arabic Contributions to the English Language** (http://www.arabicstudies.edu/A-Epage.htm), a short list of common English words that are thought to be of Arabic origin.

The material culture of the Middle East and of Islam is rich and varied and has a strong aesthetic appeal for many. A clear, concise introduction to Islamic art and architecture is offered at the BBC website (http://www.bbc.co.uk). Once at the site, type "Islamic art" in the search box in the upper right hand corner. Also look at **Islamic Art** through the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (http://www.lacma.org/Islamic_art/islamic.htm), at Islamic metalwork through the Smithsonian's exhibition **Fountains of Light** and accompanying online guide for educators (http://www.asia.si.edu/edu/onlineguides.htm), and at its architecture, calligraphy, coins, and oriental rugs as explained by the Islamic Arts and Architecture Organization (http://www.islamicart.com/index.html). **Religious Beliefs Made Visual: Geometry and Islam** (http://www.askasia.org/frclasrm/lessplan/1000030.htm) offers good classroom exercises in the patterns that are so popular in this tradition.
(**Please Note:** What should be a number one in the last email address (1000030.htm) is actually a lower-case letter l.)

Margaret R. Dittemore is head of the John Wesley Powell Library of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution Libraries.

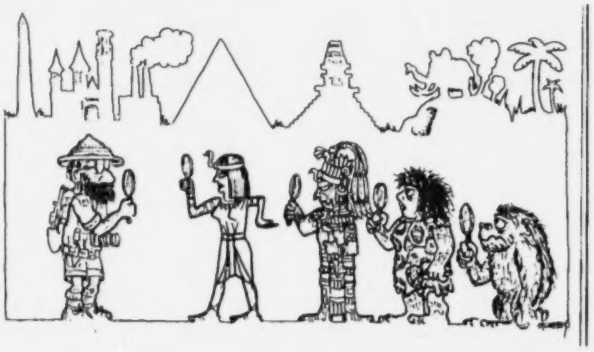
MONGOLIA EXHIBIT

The Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History will host "Modern Mongolia: Reclaiming Genghis Khan," an exhibition produced by the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, for a six-month period beginning in early July 2002. Curated by Dr. Paula Sabloff, the exhibition features the political evolution of Mongolia during the past century, from traditional to Soviet-dominated, to an independent democracy beginning in the early 1990s. The exhibit highlights museum collections, archival documents, historical and modern photographs, and video presentations. Genghis Khan's regime established the foundations of independence, representative government, and human rights that have served Mongolia for the past 800 years.

❖ ❖ ❖

ANTHRONOTES RECEIVES AWARD

AnthroNotes has received the Society for American Archaeology Award for Excellence in Public Education: "For presenting archaeological and anthropological research to the public in an engaging and accessible style, and for encouraging the study of these disciplines in the classrooms across the nation." *AnthroNotes* began publication in 1978 and today has a circulation of about 9,000 educators across the United States and 50 countries. It also is available online at www.nmnh.si.edu/departments/anthro.html



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AFGHANISTAN IN THE CLASSROOM

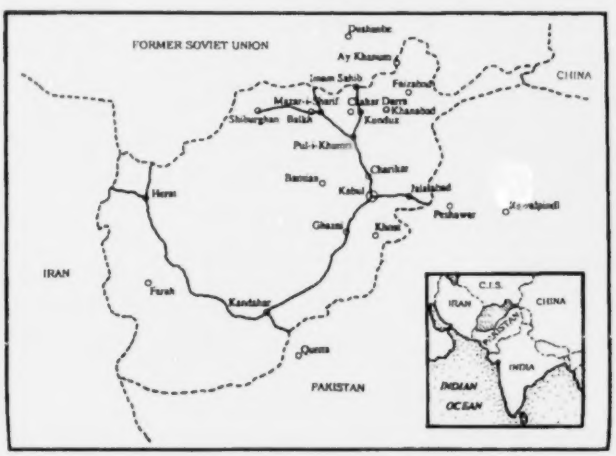
by Audrey Shalinsky

◆◆◆

Afghanistan, a beleaguered nation of many different ethnic groups, has been the central focus of our war on terrorism, although it is worth noting that none of the September 11th hijackers were actually from Afghanistan. Teachers and students have many questions. Why has Afghanistan been a country filled with conflict and warfare for so many years? How do the various ethnic groups differentiate themselves? What do they have in common? How difficult will it be for these different ethnic groups to become a modern nation?

My own research in Afghanistan began the summer of 1975, when Afghanistan was not a central player on the world stage. It was difficult to explain then why I was interested in Afghanistan. Most Americans did not know where the country was. I became interested in the area because of the Soviet Union's control of Central Asia at that time. I wanted to know how Uzbeks and Tajiks were changing under these circumstances. I was interested in how the different ethnic groups cooperated and competed and how families worked.

At that time, U.S. citizens could not do intensive anthropological field research in the Soviet Union. My professor suggested I research the same peoples but on the Afghanistan side of the border. I arranged to live with a family in Kunduz, in a neighborhood dominated by Central Asian ethnic groups. I gained enough rapport with the people that I was able to see the neighborhoods, their family life, and their experiences from the inside. I attended weddings, picnics, *buzkashi* (a male sporting event in which teams on horseback battled over an animal carcass), and intimate family meals. The family I lived with took care of me in sickness and in health, clothed me appropriately, included me in family activities, allowed me to write constantly, and asked me questions about the United States. Overall, my fieldwork provided the personal transformative experience that cultural anthropologists traditionally have sought as a "rite of passage" into the discipline.



Recent History

Afghanistan received public attention in the world news in 1978 when a governmental change took place that eventually led to the Soviet invasion, long lasting civil war, millions of refugees, and the Taliban government that became a symbol for harboring evil especially after the horrific events of September 11th.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Afghanistan was officially neutral, but it became an arena for competition between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War. Development projects and modernization, funded by both sides, proceeded at a rapid pace in Afghanistan, creating more educational opportunities as well as economic transformations. Many people in Afghanistan became increasingly concerned about the future of their country. By the mid–1960s, new political parties had emerged alongside the ruling monarchy, offering multiple and differing agendas for the future. Among these parties were some who sought to transform their society along Soviet lines, and others who wished their society to be governed by the laws and structures found in the Qur'an, Islam's holy book. In 1978, some of the parties who favored a Soviet style of government staged a coup d'etat, overthrowing Daud, who was both President and Prime Minister and a cousin of the former king. Daud himself had disestablished the monarchy in 1973. Even as these people

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

initiated a series of programs to change the traditional society in Afghanistan, they were opposed by their old enemies, the people who sought to create an Islamic state.

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 to support their allies who at that time controlled the government. However, more and more people in Afghanistan joined in fighting the invading Soviet forces until the entire country was engulfed in civil war. The Soviet Union withdrew its forces in 1988, but civil war continued. In 1992 those groups who had fought the Soviet-style agenda of the government gained partial control. Chaos and turmoil, however, continued in many regions as local factions tried to retain autonomy. In 1996 the Taliban took power, promising to restore order and stability to Afghanistan, as well as to create an Islamic state.

Hence, within a year after I came back from my fieldwork in 1977, major change in the Afghan government had taken place. As a consequence, I had to cut off correspondence with my consultants (informants) in Afghanistan. I was able to get back in touch with the family with whom I had lived when they arrived in Pakistan in 1984. I decided to go to Pakistan in 1990 to see the profound changes that had taken place in these people's lives. They were people very much in transition, living in overcrowded and alien conditions, primarily in Karachi, Pakistan. Since these were for the most part urbanized middle-class people, they had been able to leave Afghanistan with some funds. After they crossed the border, they usually did not go to the camps where refugees received aid from international agencies. Some of the men were able to move back across the border into Afghanistan and join in the fighting against the Soviet Union and the Soviet dominated Afghan government. Other people simply waited and tried to migrate to other countries.

Afghanistan thus is a country that for over twenty years has not known peace, a place where people have in many ways lost any sense of normalcy. A U.S. government report on humanitarian emergencies in 1996 listed four million Afghans (about 20% of the population) at risk for not having basic necessities of life, such as food and water. The report listed extensive land mines as a major problem and assessed the health care system as poor, non-existent in many areas, and marginal in Kabul, the capital. The infant mortality rate was 153 out of every 1000 babies born, perhaps the highest in the world.

Anthropologists and Afghanistan

I have taught the Middle East and Central Asia for over 20 years to students who come primarily from a mountainous Western state, far removed from the rugged mountains of Afghanistan. There are about a dozen academically trained anthropologists in the United States who have worked in Afghanistan, most of them conducting fieldwork in the late 1960s during the Monarchy or in the 1970s. One colleague worked in Afghanistan during the period after the Soviet invasion, and another worked with refugees in Pakistan in the 1990s much as I did in 1990 as a follow-up to my original study. Although many studied nomads, some did not. Our fieldwork pattern was traditional: the lone researcher living with and studying his/her ethnic-geographical group. Although most of us returned to the U.S.A. to teach in universities, one taught at a prep school, one worked in the foreign service in Pakistan, and one is a political activist. Two have Afghan nationality or background. Three are women.

Some of these anthropologists who have given recent public talks have told me they try to distinguish between the Taliban's policies and the Islamic or Afghan tradition. One commented, "Obviously, human rights violations, especially those involving women and opponents of the Taliban government, require great attention and response. At the same time, I have argued against those who try to equate the Taliban's policies and activities with 'fundamentalist Islam' or 'Afghan traditionalism'."

Anthropologists who have worked in Afghanistan want to place cultural behavior, political leadership, ethnicity, the position of women, and religious ideology within a broader historical and political context, setting Afghanistan in the context of its Middle Eastern and Central Asian neighbors.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The sections below are designed to help teachers and students discuss issues, but they also reflect the way anthropologists approach these topics.

Women and Veiling

The Taliban are notorious for the oppression of women. Veiling itself, however, and modest dress generally are not unique to the Taliban. Modest dress is not even unique to Muslim societies, and the Taliban did not invent veiling in Afghanistan. The style of veil I was given by "my family" to wear in 1976 was in common use in Afghanistan then and is the same as shown on TV today. It is referred to as the *bourkha*. We called it *chadri* in Afghan Persian and *piranji* in Uzbek. Both words usually are translated into the English word, "veil." The veil was worn long before the Taliban came into power.

Modest dress in Muslim countries varies by group, class, and region as does the extent to which women go into the public arena. On a trip to Jordan in the 1980s, I observed women at universities wearing modest dress and covering their heads. Students mentioned not having to worry about appearance and the importance of being judged for their ideas. In some cases, modest dress is a form of political resistance to western domination. Fadwa E. Guindi, former president of the Middle East section of the American Anthropological Association, highlighted the complexity of veiling when interviewed by the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (January 28, 2000) about her recent book, *Veil: Modesty, Privacy, Resistance*:

Q: "You say that Western observers sometimes suffer from hysteria when they see a woman in a veil. What's to get upset about?"

A: "The veil immediately conjures up submissiveness, backwardness, invisibility, seclusion, harem, even sexual orgies—which is a contradiction in a way. Whenever there is a political crisis, the veil takes precedence in the [Western media's] thinking. So, with the Taliban, right away, the media says: 'The women are oppressed, they are being asked to veil.' This is what I mean by hysteria. It's not rational. It happened also in the Gulf War.... The veil is the theater of resistance. When the Taliban, for instance, are trying to consolidate themselves, they insist that the women veil. Well, they already were veiling. But what the Taliban is trying to do is to establish their own power over the women . . . ."

The point is not the veil, but the social and political context surrounding it. Afghan women vary in their experience with veiling depending on region, ethnic group, and social class. They undoubtedly vary in their opinions about veiling. Whether veiled or in other forms of modest dress, or in styles more familiar to the West, women are concerned with participation in education, health care for themselves and their children, and the future of their society.

In some places in the Muslim world, women have donned modest dress to facilitate their involvement in these issues. In Kunduz, Afghanistan, in the 1970s, when I would accompany women, they would put on the same enveloping veils we have seen in the news recently and go to the government health clinic to make sure their children received inoculations. In fact, the government encouraged participation by the women in this program by providing them with a free bag of wheat. Girls from the ethnic group I studied were attending high school wearing modest school uniforms and headscarves. The uniform and scarf ensured their ability to attend school. The Taliban, on the other hand, sought to eliminate the complexity of veiling and required all women to be completely covered from head to toe. They also severely restricted Afghan women from participating in their society, preventing them from working and attending school, for instance. Another way to think of this is by looking at choice or what social scientists call "agency." The Taliban apparently attempted to prevent or control the exercise of women's agency and, in many respects, men's too. The focus of our attention should not be on veiling per se, but on Afghan women's participation in their society.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ethnicity

Afghanistan is a country containing many different ethnic groups. In fact, one of the challenges for the government in the 20th century and even today is dealing with these groups who often spread across national boundaries with people more loyal to their co-ethnics in other countries than they are to the nation-state or their fellow citizens. By population, the most significant ethnic group is the Pashtuns. The Pashtuns are found in southern and eastern Afghanistan primarily and cross the border region into Pakistan. In historical literature on Pakistan, they are called Pathans. The former king of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah, who lives in Italy, is a Pashtun. So are most of the Taliban, especially the leadership. The Pashtun historically have always been the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan and the politically and economically most powerful. No other ethnic group has been able to sustain political leadership in the country. However, the Pashtuns are divided into many lineages or subgroups who do not always get along or agree with one another. This complicates the post–Taliban governmental situation considerably.

Taliban is not the name of an ethnic group. It actually comes from Arabic, meaning "to seek." It also refers to "students" in Persian and related languages and refers to those men who were trained in all-male religious schools. Their origin within Afghanistan is primarily in the south around Kandahar. *Al Qaida* ("the base" in Arabic) refers to a network of cells that owe loyalty to the charismatic leader, Osama bin Ladin. Generally these are not people from Afghanistan. They are trans–nationals who come from all over the Muslim world to train in Afghanistan and then return to their native regions with new ideologies and strategies. Their origins range from Egypt to Chechnya to the Philippines.

The Northern Alliance is partly the remnant of the resistance forces that fought the Soviet Union and controlled the government of Afghanistan from 1992–96. Many people in the Northern Alliance are from the northern part of Afghanistan and ethnically are Tajiks and Uzbeks. Tajiks and Uzbeks are Central Asian peoples. Tajik is a language closely related to Persian, the language of Iran. Uzbek is a language related to Turkish. The Pashtuns, Tajiks and Uzbeks are all Sunni Muslims; that is, they practice the predominant type of Islam.

Photo shows veiling well before the Taliban
© *AudreyShalinsky 1977*

There are many other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. An important group in Central Afghanistan are the Hazaras, who are primarily Shia Muslims. Shiism or Shia Islam is the type of Islam practiced in Iran and found in significant minorities elsewhere. It is important to know about the Hazaras when one wants to understand media speculation about the possibility that Iran will seek to undermine the interim Afghan government.

Conclusion

People in the United States now know where Afghanistan is. The people I knew in Kunduz, Afghanistan do not live there anymore and most have not been there since the 1980s. What I observed in the 1970s has been gone for many years. The family I stayed with there now lives in the Washington, D.C. area. Those who were children then have their own children now. Some in the community I studied are scattered from Saudi Arabia to Uzbekistan. Perhaps one of the most important lessons we can learn about Afghanistan is that although its history and society are rich and complex, it is not a distant or a remote place. No place is in the world as we know it today.

Audrey Shalinsky is chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AnthroNotes offers in-depth articles on current anthropological research, teaching activities, and reviews of new resources. *AnthroNotes* was originally part of the George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program funded by the National Science Foundation. It is published free-of-charge twice a year.

❖ ❖ ❖

***ANTHRONOTES* has a three part mission:**

1. To more widely disseminate original, recent research in anthropology in order to help readers stay current in the field;

2. To help those teaching anthropology utilize new materials, approaches, and community resources, as well as integrate anthropology into a wide variety of subjects; and

3. To create a national network of anthropologists, archaeologists, teachers, museum and other professionals interested in the wider dissemination of anthropology, particularly in schools.

This publication with its cartoons may be reproduced and distributed free-of-charge by classroom teachers for educational purposes. ***AnthroNotes*** is now available on the WEB: www.nmnh.si.edu/departments/anthro.html

ANTHRONOTES STAFF: P. Ann Kaupp, managing editor; Ruth O. Selig, Alison S. Brooks, JoAnne Lanouette, editors; Robert L. Humphrey, artist; Kathleen Sims, design.
Illustrations, Robert L. Humphrey, © 2002.

HAVE YOU MOVED RECENTLY?

Please don't forget to notify ***AnthroNotes*** editors. If you have not notified us or your forwarding order has expired, the issue is returned marked "Forwarding Order Expired" or the Post Office returns a copy of the back page, discarding the rest of the issue. To keep our expenses down, we will no longer automatically send a second copy of the issue to you. Please help by sending your change of address as soon as possible: email:Anthroutreach@nmnh.si.edu

To be added to the mailing list, write:

Smithsonian Institution
Anthropology Outreach Office, PO Box 37012
NHB 363 MRC 112, Washington DC 20013-7012
email: anthroutreach@nmnh.si.edu

Smithsonian
National Museum of Natural History

Presorted Standard
Postage & Fees Paid
Smithsonian Institution
G-94

Anthropology Outreach Office
National Museum of Natural History
Washington, DC 20560-0112

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use $300

Address Service Requested

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ANTHRONOTES
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY PUBLICATION FOR EDUCATORS
VOLUME 23 NO. 2 FALL 2002

REFUGEES: WORLDWIDE DISPLACEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

by Stephen C. Lubkemann

❖❖❖

[Editors' Note: This article offers an anthropological perspective on one of the international community's most pressing moral and ethical dilemmas today: the massive forced displacement of large numbers of people to escape war, persecution, and natural disasters. The article offers definitions, analyses of causes and effects, case studies, and a discussion of international policies and dilemmas.]

Throughout history people have been forced to flee their homes in order to escape war, persecution, and natural disasters. The twentieth century has witnessed massive forced migrations. Political conflicts have been motivated by the widespread growth of ethno-nationalism, resistance to colonial rule, and the "Cold War" confrontation between capitalism and communism. Economic processes such as impoverishment due to development policies and global environmental degradation also have resulted in widespread population displacement.

Forced migration has been particularly affected by the emergence of "total warfare" in which non-combatants have increasingly borne the brunt of wartime violence. According to the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, 95% of the casualties suffered in World War I were combatants and only 5% were civilians, whereas in most current conflicts civilians often account for 90% or more of wartime casualties. Technology has also greatly increased the destructiveness of armed conflict thus causing greater displacement to occur.

Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

While attempts to assist uprooted people occurred throughout history, only in the twentieth century did international standards and institutions for protecting displaced people emerge. The 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention defines "refugees" as "individuals who are outside their own country and are unable to return as a result of a well-founded fear of persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership of a social group." Refugees are entitled to safe asylum, education, and medical care, and to not be repatriated against their will. The rights of refugees also include freedom of thought, of movement, and freedom from torture or degrading treatment. The convention defines the duties of states to uphold these rights as a matter of international law. It also requires refugees to uphold the laws of their host countries and to be non-combatants.

It is important to understand that displacement is a process that includes but is not limited to those who meet the legal criteria for "refugee" status (often called "Convention Refugees"). In fact, the vast majority of those who are forcibly uprooted from their homes do not fit the criteria that would allow them to be categorized as "Convention Refugees." Some are internally displaced persons within their own countries (known as "IDPs"). Others have been forced to move for reasons other than those specified in the convention, such as natural disasters, environmental degradation, or extreme economic duress. The number of those who are displaced worldwide is thus three or four times larger

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

than the number of those who are officially designated as "Convention refugees." Those without "Convention refugee" status are not entitled to the legal protections that the Convention affords.

Moreover, those adversely affected by displacement often include people other than forced migrants themselves—such as the host populations in the impoverished third world nations where most uprooted people are re-settled. Thus the majority of those who suffer as a result of displacement do not benefit from the legal rights and entitlements afforded to "Convention Refugees" by international law.

Complex Causes and Effects

Displacement is one of humanity's harshest and most traumatizing conditions and thus constitutes one of the international community's most pressing moral and ethical dilemmas for the 21st century. Armed conflict has persisted sometimes for decades in many places throughout the world such as Angola, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Kurdistan, Colombia, Rwanda, Afghanistan, Palestine, and Kashmir. In such contexts, displacement is not an exceptional interruption in the flow of "normal" life. Instead it has become an integral feature of social life that shapes all aspects of everyday routine. Anthropologists who strive to understand how social and cultural life are organized in these societies must examine how displacement affects many different dimensions of social life, including subsistence strategies, household formation, gender relations, and national identity.

In my own work with Mozambicans who fled their country's civil war, fifteen years of displacement resulted in radical changes in the way residence and marriage were organized. While leaving their wives and children in safe areas within Mozambique, many men migrated to South Africa to avoid being conscripted by the military. Because the war persisted for so long, many of these men eventually constituted second households by also marrying South African women. Although polygyny (men having multiple wives) was already a feature of these men's society, it had never before been "transnationalized" in this way. In this case long-term displacement created a new form of transnational community in which households, kinship networks, and economic strategies spanned international borders. This form of social organization had not existed before the war but persisted after it.

Over the last three decades social scientists and policy-makers have begun to recognize refugees as more than simply the unfortunate by-products of conflict. They have started to study how displacement and forced migration affect broader processes of social change and international security. Some of the issues and phenomena that affect displacement and are, in turn, influenced by refugees are development, demographic change, immigration, ethno-nationalism, public health, the environment, and conflict resolution. In the social sciences anthropologists have played a leading role in investigating the causes, organization, and effects of displacement and have focused, in particular, on how displacement affects social relations, organizations, and identities.

Causes of Displacement

Typically those fleeing wars and political violence have been designated "involuntary migrants" as distinguished from "voluntary migrants," a term reserved for those who migrate primarily to improve their economic situation. Increasingly anthropologists have questioned the sharpness of the distinction between political and economic motives for migration by showing that political conflict and economic well-being are often closely related. Researchers have pointed out that people who migrate because their economies or subsistence environment have been devastated by war are also "involuntary migrants," even if they have not been directly targeted by military violence. In places like the Sudan or Ethiopia, governments have forbidden the distribution of food aid in insurgent areas in an effort to starve populations thought to be harboring enemy troops.

Wars also can produce forced migration by constricting the options that people have for coping with adverse environmental conditions. During times of famine in Mozambique, rural peasants traditionally coped with food shortages by temporarily moving to urban centers where they could find short-term work, enabling them to purchase food. However, during the Mozambican civil war, the fact that the government held most of the urban areas while the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

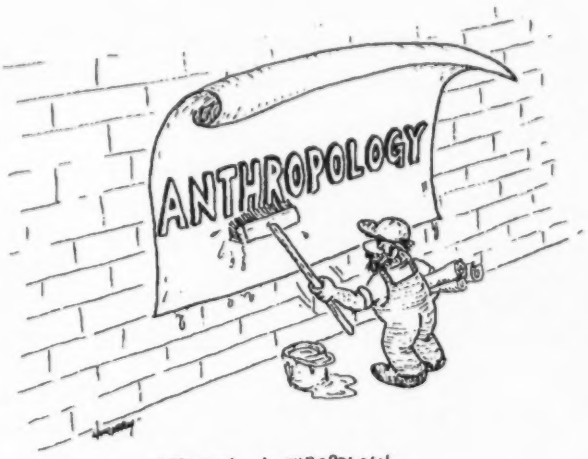
insurgency held rural areas made it virtually impossible to safely transit back and forth between the two. Intense drought conditions resulted in massive forced migration across international borders because the political conditions of the war impeded traditional mechanisms for coping with environmental hardship. Such examples demonstrate how economic, environmental, and political processes can be complexly interrelated in ways that make it difficult to reasonably distinguish "political" from "economic" motives, or migration as either "voluntary" or "involuntary."

Political processes such as nationalism and state-building can result in different forms of displacement. The Indonesian government has pursued a policy of forcibly relocating many of its citizens of the dominant ethnic group on the main island of Java to outlying islands in an attempt to influence the ethnic balance of power and cultural practices of ethnic minorities. This policy of "transmigration" is a deliberate attempt to build a unified national identity by "Javanizing" ethnic minorities. Unsurprisingly this policy has aggravated ethnic tensions and resulted in violent conflict that has produced displacement in its own right.

Development initiatives are another major cause of displacement. Colonial development projects often displaced tens or even hundreds of thousands of people to make room for settlers (as in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mexico, and the United States) or to complete projects such as building massive dams. American anthropologist Elizabeth Colson has conducted one of the most important studies of the long-term social effects of development-induced displacement in her fifty years of research on the Gwembe Tonga in Zambia. The Tonga were displaced as the result of a dam project. The ongoing construction of the massive Three Gorges Dam on China's Yellow River provides a contemporary example of a major development project that will eventually displace up to 10 million people.

Economic and applied anthropologists also have shown how prevailing macro-economic policies such as "structural adjustment" can affect social and political environments in ways that produce forced relocation. Structural adjustment economic policies generally oblige governments to reduce their public expenditures, often resulting in the loss of jobs and public services. These policies also can produce cost-of-living increases as governments stop subsidizing the cost of food or other basic amenities. Anthropologist James Ferguson demonstrates the consequences of such policies in Zambia where people who have worked their entire lives in urban areas have been forced to relocate to less expensive rural areas and to pursue unfamiliar agricultural subsistence strategies.

More recently, environmental degradation also has been identified as a major cause of forced migration. Researchers working in Bangladesh and Africa coined the term "environmental refugees" to refer to those displaced because of environmental degradation or natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, and volcanic eruptions. Although it is caused by natural events such as these, environmental displacement also is influenced by social, political, and economic factors. People who are economically and politically marginalized are more likely to have to live in areas vulnerable to catastrophic events and are thus more likely to become environmental refugees. Research is just beginning to consider the potential effects of worldwide environmental trends such as global warming on the potential future displacement of such marginal populations as those bordering the Sahel in Africa.



APPLYING ANTHROPOLOGY

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Effects of Displacement

Displacement has a broad range of political, economic, social, and psychological effects, which anthropologists and other social scientists have begun to focus their research attention on. The experience of displacement, particularly when it is prolonged, often leads to the forging of socio-political consciousness and national political identity. Millions of Palestinians, Rwandese, and Afghanis have been living in camps or other forms of exile for decades. In such cases, multiple generations actually have been born and grown up in conditions of displacement. Contrary to prevalent media depictions of refugees as merely passive victims of larger circumstances, anthropologists working with these populations have demonstrated how the experience of prolonged displacement can motivate people to politically organize and react against the perceived causes of their displacement. Not surprisingly, refugee camps in Palestine and Afghanistan have proven to be fertile recruiting grounds for military groups fighting against Israel and in successive conflicts in Afghanistan. Both the Taliban and the earlier anti-Soviet mujaheddin movements, which the Taliban ousted, originated within Afghan refugee communities in Pakistan.

Anthropologists working with refugees in Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Macedonia, Turkey, Rwanda and Burundi also have examined how national political stability can be affected when massive population movements influence ethnic composition and balances of power within host countries. For example, during the international coalition's war against Iraq in 1990, Turkey feared that a massive influx of ethnic Kurds from Iraq would further strengthen the Kurdish resistance movement within its own borders. Turkey, therefore, refused entry to displaced Kurds attempting to flee the regime of Saddam Hussein.

The rapid arrival of large numbers of destitute and desperate refugees usually has significant, though often contradictory and socially differentiated economic impacts on host populations. Researchers in East Africa have demonstrated how the arrival of large numbers of refugees may drive down the price of labor in host areas. This may provide a boon, on the one hand, to more wealthy segments of the host population who are in a position to hire labor. However, it may also drive down wages and increase competition for jobs with other poorer locals who also subsist by providing labor. Similarly massive population influxes may increase pressure on scarce resources such as land or fuel. The influx of Mozambican refugees into Zimbabwe during the 1980s eventually produced a popular backlash because there was already stiff competition for land within Zimbabwe, and Mozambicans were occupying more and more of it. Such effects can increase socio-economic differentiation (i.e. increasing the gap between the rich and poor) within host populations, creating new forms of social tension and conflict. These socio-economic impacts are particularly pronounced in many third world countries that bear the brunt of the world's refugee burden, and in which poverty may already be widespread.

These impacts are likely to be further pronounced if displaced populations do not settle in visible refugee camps or receive official assistance but rather "self-settle" in the midst of host populations. Anthropologists working in Africa and Latin America have provided most of the few in-depth examinations of these so-called "self-settled" refugees. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, there was evidence that many self-settled refugees were able to successfully integrate into local host communities in rural border areas, usually by drawing on extended kinship or ethnic ties that spanned these borders. Recent work by anthropologists points to the fact that an increasing number of the self-settled seem to be establishing themselves in major urban centers rather than in rural areas bordering their countries of origin. While it is clear that the self-settled comprise a majority of the displaced (some estimates range as high as 80% of all displaced), exact estimates are hard to come by. Since the majority of these individuals are technically illegal immigrants, they have a vested interest in concealing their national origins in order to avoid deportation.

Anthropologists have been particularly successful and pioneering in working with self-settled refugees because their fieldwork methods allow them better access to these populations. Through long-term interaction with their subjects, anthropologists are

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

able to build stronger, more trusting relationships than are possible through other methods. This rapport also provides for a deeper and more holistic understanding of the complex social effects of displacement. Many anthropologists have consequently become strong advocates for the refugee populations with whom they work. The precarious legal status of many displaced people and their traumatic histories force anthropologists to grapple with difficult ethical dilemmas and with the challenge of how best to protect their research collaborators.

Anthropologists have increasingly examined how displacement is a highly gendered process that reorganizes social relations and identities. In many refugee situations women and children comprise over 80% of the refugee population. There is also evidence that wartime violence and displacement often have more negative economic and social effects on women than on men. For example, refugee women are usually more vulnerable to predatory sexual violence than refugee men. A great deal of policy research has attempted to identify the most "vulnerable groups" within displaced populations, such as women-headed households, children, the elderly, and those with disabilities, in order to identify ways to provide greater assistance and protection.

Anthropologists have shown that culturally-specific social systems play an important role in constituting vulnerability. Vulnerability is not merely a function of biological factors such as age or sex. It is primarily related to the ways in which social roles bind people to certain obligations and entitle them to certain rights. Social roles vary widely across different cultures. In my own work in Mozambique, I was able to show organizations assisting refugees that their assumptions that elderly widows were more vulnerable than elderly widowers was incorrect because it did not account for the way the local kinship system worked. In this particular social context, elderly women almost always were supported not by their husbands but by their sons and his wife or wives. Elderly men, on the other hand, depended on their wives for support. The loss of a spouse was therefore much more consequential for elderly men than for elderly women.

Lubkemann with Mozambicans in South Africa

Displacement also may have profound effects on the gendered distribution of labor, on the way gendered relationships like marriage or parentage are organized, and on how gendered and other social roles change in terms of the obligations and rights these imply. Thus, for example, in rural Mozambique, displacement had profoundly disempowering effects for women. It reconfigured gender relations and the social institution of marriage in very detrimental ways for many women. Displaced women who resettled in refugee camps were unable to engage in subsistence agriculture which was their primary economic activity and the basis of their social influence within their households. On the other hand, many men were able to continue their primary economic activity—labor migration. The fact that many of these migrant men took additional wives in their migration destinations also disempowered their Mozambican wives. These wives who remained behind in refugee camps found it difficult to claim their share of their husbands' earnings. Conversely, in other contexts, such as among Eritrean refugees settled in Canada, women have been able to assume new social roles previously unavailable to them, resulting in their relative empowerment vis-à-vis Eritrean men.

The experience of having to adapt to an unfamiliar social and cultural environment can make forced migration and resettlement particularly diffi-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

cult experiences. It is important to realize that displaced people arrive in new societies with their own sets of values and aspirations. The maintenance of particular cultural differences may become crucial to refugee constructions of meaningful identities and life strategies in novel social environments. For example, several anthropologists who have worked with Hmong refugees from Cambodia in the U.S. have noted the critical role that religion has continued to play in organizing these refugee communities and in constituting a sense of social identity.

Differences between the cultural norms of refugees and those of host societies concerning appropriate codes of social behavior sometimes create tensions between refugees and the communities in which they have resettled. Exposure to new value systems and cultural norms can also generate conflict within refugee communities and households themselves. Men and women, or different generations, often have divergent views about which features of their own original culture should be maintained and which from the new host society should be adapted as their own. Anthropologists working with Afghani and Laotian refugees in the U.S. and with the Palestinians in Germany have taken particular note of intergenerational differences in how parental authority is regarded. For example, anthropologist Dima Abdulrahim has documented the disputes that arise within Palestinian refugee households in Germany over whether or not fathers should have the right to dictate whom their daughters should marry.

Those studying other groups such as the Sudanese or Ethiopians in the U.S., the Mozambicans in South Africa, or the Burundians in Tanzania have noted how internal tensions and arguments often emerge over changing norms in the way gender roles and relationships are defined. In my own work I found that Mozambican women who joined their husbands in South Africa often observed that there was a greater sharing of domestic tasks by men in South African households. They consequently began to question the gendered division of labor within their own households. Mozambican men resisted the erosion of their privileges. In many cases they eventually went out of their way to avoid having their Mozambican wives join them in South Africa in order to prevent them from exposure to new norms.

Effects on Health

The psychological effects of exposure to violence and displacement are attracting increased attention from mental health experts, including medical and psychological anthropologists. The trauma of displacement can make adaptation to new and unfamiliar social and cultural environments particularly difficult. Anthropologists have demonstrated how different cultural beliefs play a central role in the way individuals interpret and cope with traumatic experiences such as displacement. The challenges of adaptation may be further intensified by the uncertainty and insecurity of temporary status or a sense of being highly constrained in a refugee camp environment. Prolonged dependence on aid in long-term refugee camp situations can lead to diminished self-esteem and a sense of dependency and disempowerment.

One of the most fruitful recent areas of collaboration between researchers and organizations assisting refugees has been in understanding and improving humanitarian reactions to the health problems faced in complex emergencies. The catastrophic mortality rates in the Rwandan refugee camps in eastern Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) sounded a wake-up call within the humanitarian community that has since sparked greater collaboration with the CDC (Center for Disease Control), as well as research and training programs on refugee health at leading schools of public health such as Johns Hopkins and Columbia University.

In 1999 the National Research Council Committee on Population created a Roundtable on Forced Migration to assess and encourage research on the demographic effects of displacement. Research on refugee mortality and morbidity represents only the first step in a much needed examination of the broader demographic effects of forced migration. It is worth noting that Africa is the continent with the greatest number of IDPs (internally displaced persons), the world's highest fertility rates, fastest urban growth, and highest rates of HIV. Remarkably, however, the relationship of forced migration to these important demographic processes has scarcely been examined to date.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Anthropology of Humanitarian Action

Anthropologists working on refugees have focused largely on how displacement affects and is affected by social organization. Increasingly many of us see the necessity of also focusing on the larger political-economic systems and organizations that intervene in the lives of the displaced. The humanitarian regime consists of those organizations that assist or interact with displaced populations, the systemic relationships among these organizations, and their institutionalized set of practices. The anthropology of humanitarian action focuses on the social, cultural, economic, and political factors that shape those practices and the relationships of power among those organizations.

The UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), created in 1950 after World War II, following post war reconstruction in Europe, continues to play the leading role in international efforts to assist and protect refugees and displaced people worldwide. Throughout the last decade of the twentieth century, the number of "persons of concern" to the UNHCR rose from 14.92 million to 22.26 million.

Regional international bodies such as the OAU's (Organization of African Unity) and the OAS (Organization of American States) extended the definition of refugee to include individuals and groups forced to flee their countries because of conditions of generalized violence and insecurity rather than because of individual-specific persecution. At best these criteria only have been applied within these regions. Unfortunately countries throughout the world increasingly have followed the lead of Western European and North American governments in pursuing more restrictive asylum granting policies that limit the number of refugees allowed to settle within their borders.

Such policies are a reaction by the governments of industrialized nations to two decades of rapid growth in immigration. This flow has been caused by people fleeing deteriorating political and economic conditions in developing countries such as Haiti, Mexico, and Nigeria and in former communist bloc countries, such as Romania and Nicaragua. Such people come seeking greater opportunity in the West. The globalization of mass communication has increased awareness of the opportunities available in many industrialized nations. The development of international transportation systems has facilitated transcontinental travel. These aspects of globalization have played an important role in motivating international migration.

The UNHCR only can advise individual states on how to interpret the Refugee Convention's criteria when applying these to individuals seeking asylum within their own borders. Consequently governments always have been able to restrict whom they accept as refugees in ways that serve their political and economic interests. Fears of the negative economic effects of excessive immigration have led industrialized nations to interpret the convention's criteria in ever more restrictive terms. Thus, for example, in several cases in North America during the 1990s, courts recognized that asylum seekers fled their countries of origin because of a legitimate fear of violence but still denied them refugee status, because it was determined that they were being persecuted for "non-political" reasons (such as sexual orientation or gender).

Governments also have developed ways to provide temporary relief for those fleeing insecurity without incurring the legal obligations implied in granting "convention refugee" status. Throughout Europe and North America, different forms of TPS (Temporary Protection Status) have emerged that provide an interim solution to populations fleeing generalized violence until it is safe for them to return. Initially put forth as a short-term measure, TPS does not usually provide the social benefits to which refugees are entitled, such as education and employment or the possibility of seeking asylum or permanent resettlement. However, the prolonged insecurity and challenging conditions in countries such as Liberia and Guatemala have led to annual renewals of TPS status in the U.S. for displaced populations from these countries for up to a decade.

My work with Liberian refugees in the U.S. has shown how the TPS status has had mixed effects. On the one hand, it has constrained people's economic mobility and social integration into American society. The constant uncertainty over whether TPS will

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

be renewed serves as a disincentive for longer-term social investment in their host communities. On the other hand, the threat of TPS termination has mobilized Liberian community members around a common cause as they lobby for permanent residence status. This has allowed them to transcend longstanding ethnic and socio-economic divisions that played a significant role in causing the Liberian civil war in the first place.

In the most extreme cases, industrialized nations have resorted to more severe measures to prevent the influx of forced migrants. European Union states have refused entry to asylum seekers on the grounds that they already had passed through "safe countries" en route from their countries of origin. Heavy fines have been imposed on airlines that transport asylum seekers who do not already have visas. Even more draconian and legally dubious measures have involved intercepting refugees before they arrive on host country shores and turning them back without asylum hearings. This was the U.S. government's policy towards thousands of Haitian boat people who sought to land on American shores during the 1990s. This package of increasingly restrictive measures represent a policy of "containment," often described as an attempt to create "fortress" regions that make access to forced and other migrants more difficult.

Such policies have not stemmed the rising tide of forced migrants. Instead they have produced greater levels of clandestine immigration into industrialized nations. Moreover they have placed the economic burden of displacement on other less-industrialized countries, which are even more adversely affected by massive refugee influxes. Meanwhile the levels of financial assistance that industrialized nations provide to international organizations and developing nations to assist refugees also has diminished. Unsurprisingly, the willingness of governments everywhere to host refugees has eroded. In this environment refugees throughout the world have experienced rising levels of violence and hostility from host populations and governments. Even governments that have long proven to be generous hosts to large refugee populations such as Iran and Tanzania undertook large-scale forced repatriations during the late 1990s and closed off their borders against further refugee flows.

The restriction of asylum also increasingly reduces the options for the displaced in ways that subject them to greater risk of violence. One example is the creation of so-called 'safe zones' within conflict areas as an alternative to allowing refugees to cross international borders. European Union countries already overwhelmed by massive population influxes that resulted from the fall of the Berlin Wall urged the creation of "safe zones" in Bosnia-Herzegovina because of their reluctance to receive refugees from the former Yugoslavia. However, insufficient military means for ensuring their safety led to notorious calamities in 1995 when the safe zones in Srebrenica and Zepa were overrun, and thousands of Bosnian civilians were massacred.

Restrictive immigration policies do not prevent forced migration because they fail to address the root causes of migration—namely the precarious political and economic conditions that compel people to move. The growing worldwide reluctance to accept refugee resettlement and the increasing trend towards civil (as opposed to interstate) warfare has resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of IDPs worldwide. The appointment in 1992 of the first UN Special Representative on Internally Displaced Persons represented a critical step in institutionalizing international concern for this issue.

The nature of post-Cold War conflicts presents considerable new challenges to organizations that want to assist the displaced. Many civil wars—such as those in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda—have been

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

driven by ethno-nationalist sentiments aiming to create ethnically homogeneous countries. In these conflicts military forces have directly targeted civilian populations in an effort to eliminate or forcibly uproot minorities—a process called "ethnic cleansing." In such cases humanitarian efforts to assist the displaced do not serve the interest of warring parties and are often hindered. Long-term solutions to the displacement produced by ethnically-driven violence may be particularly difficult to find. Repatriation attempts that bring ethnic groups back into contact often spark further violence, "revenge killings," and new displacement—as was most recently the case in Kosovo.

In other situations warring parties have developed an interest in the persistence of conflict. The "blood diamond trade" in Sierra Leone and narcotrafficking in Colombia are cases in which the targeting of populations and ongoing displacement help perpetuate the conditions of violence, instability, and insecurity upon which illegal profitable activities thrive. Finally, in places such as Somalia, humanitarian aid itself has been increasingly appropriated by combatants. In these cases, ironically, assistance is transformed into a means for supporting the conflict that is producing displacement in the first place!

The problems of IDPs and the fact that fortress policies do not successfully contain forced migrations has led the international community to consider how to prevent displacement in the first place, by addressing its root causes. In the 1990s the international community took unprecedented steps by intervening in the internal affairs of Iraq and Serbia (Kosovo) in order to protect displaced people but also to prevent forced migration flows across international borders.

Ultimately, however, there is still reluctance on the part of most states and international organizations to challenge the principle of national sovereignty by interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. In conflicts that have produced large numbers of IDPs such as in Sierra Leone, Iraq, Chechnya, Colombia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, assisting displaced populations has presented new challenges to policy-makers. The UN is an organization premised on the sovereignty of its members. Moreover the UNHCR can only act at the request and with the permission of sovereign governments. These realities have made it difficult for the UNHCR to provide assistance in some of these cases. The international NGO (non-governmental organizations) community remains divided on this issue. Some organizations have taken positions in cases such as Sudan and Sierra Leone that clearly prioritize assistance at the expense of considerations of national sovereignty.

The Role of NGOs

Over the last three decades international NGOs, including CARE, OXFAM, the International Rescue Committee, Doctors Without Borders, Catholic Relief Services, and Save the Children, have come to play a pivotal role in organizing and providing assistance to displaced and war-affected people worldwide. Many of these organizations work with UNHCR, doing much of the operational work on the ground. Increasingly they have influenced policy-makers and national governments by bringing the plight of displaced people to the attention of the global media, as in the recent cases of Rwanda and Kosovo.

Policy makers and humanitarian organizations have increasingly moved beyond merely providing assistance to protecting those assisted and those assisting from violence. Some organizations in the international humanitarian community have started to place a greater emphasis on promoting the human rights of the displaced. Thus the NGO, Doctors Without Borders—recipient of the 2000 Nobel Peace Prize—publicly denounces human rights violations,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

even if this insults a government and thereby prevents them from carrying out assistance activities. In some situations in which assistance has been diverted to serve the interests of combatants (such as in the Rwandan refugee camps in Eastern Zaire), or where human rights violations have been particularly grave (such as the Taliban's mistreatment of women in Afghanistan), some NGOs have ceased their assistance activity altogether. Other organizations such as the International Red Cross have chosen not to comment on human rights violations and remain politically neutral in order to continue providing assistance, even if it is diverted or has unintended and undesired consequences.

Humanitarian Action

Anthropologists have increasingly examined the activities of the organizations that provide assistance to refugees. Barbara Harrell-Bond's landmark study, *Imposing Aid* (1986), confronted humanitarian organizations with research demonstrating that their activities were often more responsive to external pressures such as funding and inter-organizational rivalry than to the needs of the refugees themselves. My own work with the Humanitarianism and War Project showed how NGOs in Mozambique are primarily accountable to the interests of the government agencies that fund them rather than to the people who receive their services. As a result, decisions are often made that do not create sustainable solutions to the problems that are most important to locals. Instead assistance often serves to promote the international visibility or political agendas of donors.

Anthropologists also have shown that humanitarian assistance that does not create sustainable solutions or use local capacities causes considerable harm rather than helping refugee or other war-affected populations. In Mozambique my work demonstrated that the unwillingness of modern medical doctors to work with traditional medical practitioners created local suspicion and hostility that proved detrimental to public health. Locals tended to visit traditional medical practitioners first because they were less expensive. Since these practitioners had been alienated by the hospital doctors, they rarely referred sick patients to hospitals but instead would refer them only to other traditional medical practitioners. Consequently, patients often would arrive at hospitals only after a disease had progressed to a degree at which the costs for curing it were exceedingly high.

There have been important, recent collaborative attempts to improve humanitarian action and advocacy. The establishment in the mid-1990s of INTERACTION—a coalition of over 165 associations involved in humanitarian work—and the SPHERE initiative, to establish a voluntary charter with standards and ethical principles for humanitarian action, represent important developments in this direction.

Refugees and displacement are increasingly recognized as only one aspect of a set of interrelated political, economic, and military problems constituting what have come to be called "complex emergencies." Humanitarian assistance is only one component necessary for the solution of these challenges and by itself cannot solve the problems that displaced people face. International humanitarian assistance continues to gradually expand in scope to provide assistance to all populations affected by displacement (including IDPs, hosts, and even those left behind by forced migrants in devastated war zones—the "displaced in place"). However, it has become increasingly evident that humanitarian action only can be effective if the more fundamental political and economic roots of displacement and conflict are addressed. Anthropologists will continue to play an important role in studying the experiences of the displaced and the effects of displacement. However, they also have an important role to play in understanding the international political systems within which displacement occurs and in identifying the social factors that constrain and shape responses to displacement.

Further Reading

Ahearn, Frederick L. ed. 2000. *Psychosocial Wellness of Refugees: Issues in Qualitative and Quantitative Research.* Berghahn Books.

Bascom, Jonathan. 1998. *Losing Place: Refugees and Rural Transformations in East Africa.* Berghahn.

Black, Richard. 1998. *Refugees, Environment, and Development.* Longman.

(Continued on page 19)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TEACHER'S CORNER: REFUGEE INTERNET RESOURCES

by Janet Soller

❖❖❖

Internet resources abound for any subject and the topic of "refugee" is no different. Google will give you over a million sites in less than .19 seconds. This column will focus on three websites selected for their special features of (1) comprehension www.unhcr.ch/ (2) library resources www.interaction.org, and (3) compassionate action www.doctorswithout borders.org. The combination of all three provide an excellent foundation for your specific purposes in your classroom community.

Comprehension

For a helpful, over-all view of the topic, start with UNHCR, The United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the UN Refugee Agency. The home page's well-organized, left-hand column includes everything from "Basic Facts" to "Research/Evaluation" and "Statistics." The quick find drop down window is a treasure trove of keywords including children, maps, women, internships, careers, and teaching tools.

UNCHR at www.unhcu.ca/ provides teaching tools for elementary, middle, and high school teachers by associating art, history, human rights, geography, civic education, language, and literature with the topic of "refugees." The plans are divided into three age groups and include detailed purpose, background material, and student activities. The units are particularly strong because they facilitate interdisciplinary connections to the social and behavioral sciences.

Complete with photos and personal stories, UNHCR has two exciting brochures, *Refugee Teenagers* and *Children of Exile*. Also check out the "Statistics" and "Careers" pages. The statistics page provides an opportunity for mathematics to come alive and will help your students discern the importance of a strong mathematical background. The career page offers actual job openings, such as at the Senior Media Office, Islamabad, Pakistan, complete with job descriptions.

Library Resources

For a great on-line, current library resource, try "InterAction" at www.interaction.org and click "Search our Library." After a visit to this site, a teacher can develop diverse research activities that will spark individual students or develop group projects on the same subject across different countries. The library holdings include documents, press releases, and up-to-date "Monday Developments." Searches can be by geographical regions or countries. Some subjects included in the extensive program areas are food production, adoption, educational development, rural development, and sustainable development.

Compassionate Action

For the passionate, human connection about refugees, look at "Doctors without Borders," at www.doctorswithoutborders.org. Doctors without Borders is a small group of French doctors who believe that all peoples have rights to basic human health care. This site has an excellent section on fieldwork. The "International Activity Reports" are organized by country. A student can read about needle exchange and first-aid programs in Barcelona; changes in Spanish immigration law; or, in addition to malnutrition, there is an unprecedented malaria outbreak striking over three million Burundi people.

Doctors without Borders has extensive descriptions for the types of fieldwork volunteers they need. Besides physical and mental health care professionals, they also need senior project coordinators with advanced studies in areas such as anthropology to manage their complex field projects.

Reading about a humanitarian organization with real-life applications in the behavioral and social sciences may prove inspiring to students. Used together or separately, these web sites offer teachers and students the basics of refugee study and exciting learning experiences for all.

Janet Soller is deputy director for the Center for Gifted Education Policy at the American Psychological Foundation in Washington, D. C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

IN PRAISE OF ROBERT L. HUMPHREY

October 7, 1939 - November 15. 2002

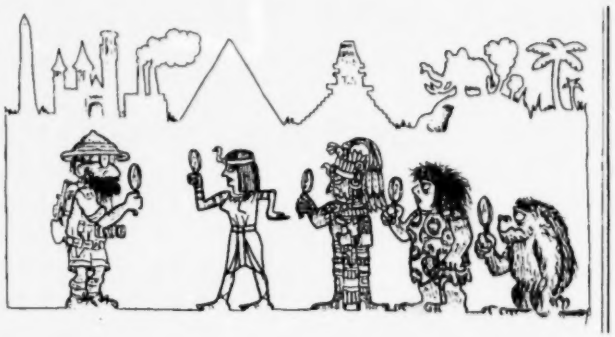
One of the most important attributes that differentiates our species from the rest of the animal kingdom is our ability to laugh, and even more important, our ability to laugh at ourselves.

— Robert L. Humphrey

"The best thing about *AnthroNotes* are the cartoons," said Dennis Stanford, director of the Smithsonian's Paleoindian Program. Our *AnthroNotes* readers enthusiastically agreed and often wrote praising the publication's articles and cartoons. Bob Humphrey died unexpectedly this past November (from complications following a cerebral aneurysm), and we, like hundreds of others, lost a friend, colleague, and mentor, as well as an admired artist, cartoonist, and humorist.

A serious artist with a large portfolio of exhibited works in multiple media, Bob also enjoyed doodling on the classroom blackboard and drawing cartoons for his syllabi. He had cartooned since the 1950s, but it is probably fair to say that his cartooning career changed in 1978 when he drew a brochure illustration announcing a new, National Science Foundation-funded George Washington University/ Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program. This cartoon used in many contexts since, was redrawn in 1998 replacing a cityscape with the Smithsonian "castle," making it a perfect frontispiece for the Smithsonian Institution Press anthology, *Anthropology Explored: The Best of Smithsonian AnthroNotes* (Ruth Selig and Marilyn London, eds.), illustrated by over 40 Humphrey cartoons.

In 1980, two years after *AnthroNotes* began, we received a hand-written letter from Sol Tax, the distinguished editor of *Current Anthropology*, congratulating us on our new publication. "It seems to me always good and getting better!" he wrote. Tax continued, "And Robert Humphrey is not just an artist—he is the best anthropological cartoonist I can recall."



Trained in art history and anthropology, holding a Ph.D. in anthropology and archaeology from the University of New Mexico, Bob came to George Washington University (GWU) as an assistant professor in 1967. He already had distinguished himself by finding and describing in *Science* a possible link between ancient Siberian spear points and those of the Paleo-Indians. The evidence he described had been found during fieldwork in north Alaska alongside fellow New Mexico graduate student Dennis Stanford.

From the beginning of his teaching career, Bob's interests ranged beyond archaeology to the whole area of how culture is communicated through objects and visual images. He put together an interdisciplinary archaeology major at GWU and encouraged one of his finest students, Carolyn Rose, to develop the new field of ethnographic conservation. In cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution, GWU students were trained to study, preserve and stabilize objects rather than restore them to their original state as art conservators are trained to do.

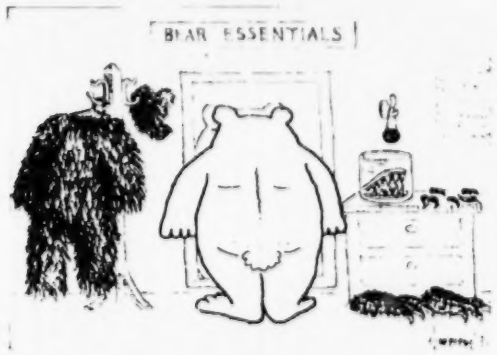
Bob taught courses in archaeology, cultures of the Arctic, culture and the environment, art and anthropology, and museum anthropology. At the end of his first year teaching, the department chair wrote in Bob's annual report: "He gives every evidence of developing into a truly outstanding teacher.... Humphrey is an intellectual and very warm person who lacks entirely those irritating idiosyncracies popularly attributed to the gifted."

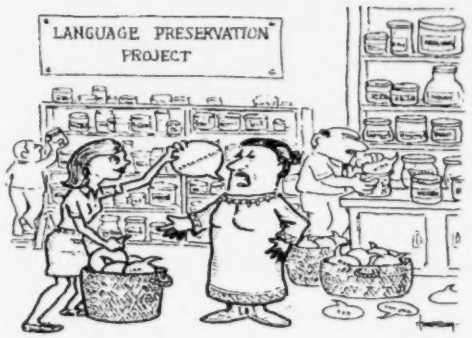
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Bob directed programs in Mesoamerican archaeology, ecology, and history and established the Museum Studies Program, serving as its first director. He was his department's chair for 12 years and created exhibition space in the department's offices. After his retirement from GWU in 1998, Bob continued to cartoon for *AnthroNotes*. We were editing this current issue when he died.

Bob never took himself too seriously, and in his cartoon world he pokes fun at himself, but also at anthropology, anthropologists, cartoonists, and cartooning. For example, one cartoon illustration shows a long line at the registration table for the American Anthropological Association's annual meeting, with various anthropologists waiting to register, along with representatives of the societies they study, including a member of our closest relatives, the chimpanzees.

Bob's cartoons often gain their humor from his ability to visually exaggerate an idea or subject combined with a literal interpretation of words. Reading an article on surviving on the bare essentials led him to wonder just what are a bear's essentials.





An article about language preservation among the Mayan Indians found Bob drawing a "preservation" scene, with linguists "bottling" phrases that had been spoken into "bubbles," then "preserved" in canning jars up on shelves, much like pickles or jam.

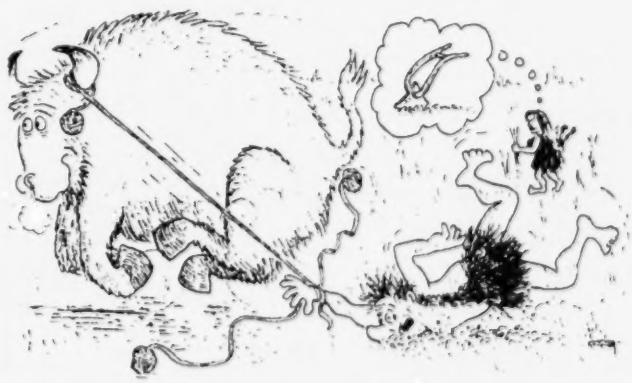
Bob created an entire visual world with his cartoons; the themes and inhabitants of this world reappear over and over: clovis points, mammoths, and elephants; cave men and women, apes, and archaeologists. The humans and animals are often interchangeable, reflecting the anthropological perspective that the human species is an animal species similar to others in the natural world. Hence a Viking man arrives on America's shore and meets his counterpart, the musk ox; but lo and behold, the Viking and musk ox look alike.

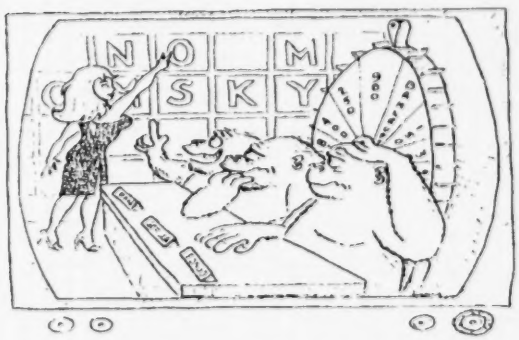
Along similar lines, Bob loved to intermix ancient and modern times. In one illustration, a cave man is shown "playing golf" with a golf club made from a stick and stone tool, while his wife "files her nails" with a clovis point, her hair up in curlers made of animal bones.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Invention (and its close cousin artistic creation) is a deeply human characteristic, and the subject of many Humphrey cartoons. For example, a light bulb goes off in a woman's head as she watches her husband fall to the ground, his chin dragged through the earth by the bison he has been hunting, giving her the idea of a plow.

Bob loved to take a familiar image and put it into a surprise context. One of his cartoons shows the familiar "Wheel of Fortune," with Vanna White turning blocks of letters spelling out "Noam Chomsky." Three contestants sit at the table with name plates labeled Pan, Pongo, and Gorilla.


THE TRANSITION FROM HUNTING AND GATHERING TO DOMESTICATION



Finally, Bob's cartoons speak to issues such as repatriation, gender discrimination, cultural relativism and the question of universal human rights [see page 9 of this issue]. As he said,

> If we can learn to laugh at ourselves, it becomes very easy to see through racism, sexism, fundamentalism, and all the other nasty 'isms' that our species is too often prey to.

In 2002 Bob proudly accepted, along with the *AnthroNotes* editors, the Society for American Archaeology Award for Excellence in Education for "presenting archaeological and anthropological research to the public in an engaging and accessible style, and for encouraging the study of these disciplines in classrooms across the nation."

In his essay, "The Art of Anthropology," (*Anthropology Explored*), Bob describes what cartooning meant to him:

> "The ability to make and understand cartoons represents some of the most complex symbolic thought, expression, and self-reflection of which humans are capable....As an anthropologist, I particularly enjoy drawing for AnthroNotes because I am able to work as an artist and anthropologist simultaneously."

❖❖❖

We will miss you, Bob. On behalf of all the *AnthroNotes* readers who have enjoyed your artistry and humor these past 24 years, we express our heartfelt thanks for all you did to create a world of irony and humor, levity and insight, which enriched ours and others' lives in immeasurable ways. Neither we nor our readers will ever forget you.

by Ruth O. Selig with the other AnthroNotes editors, Alison S. Brooks, Ann Kaupp, and JoAnne Lanouette.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Repatriation at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History

by William T. Billeck

❖❖❖

In August 1868, at Walnut Creek near Fort Larned, Kansas, a Cheyenne child died and was placed on a traditional burial scaffold near a recently abandoned Cheyenne Sun Dance lodge, together with a variety of offerings and remembrances. Soon after, U.S. Army soldiers tracking the Cheyenne came upon the site. They took the child's remains and accompanying burial objects and sent them to the Army Medical Museum in Washington, D.C., a practice encouraged by the Army Surgeon General of the time. The burial frame and grave objects were subsequently transferred to the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH). The child's remains have long since been lost. The 36 objects in the funerary assemblage accessioned into the NMNH included the burial frame, buffalo hides, beaded cradle covers, trade blankets and cloth, beaded bags, and several articles of clothing (NMNH, 1996:18).

Under the federal repatriation laws enacted in 1989 and 1990, museums throughout the United States must return Native American remains and burial objects in their collections to tribal groups with which they are culturally linked. In July 1993, the remains of over thirty Cheyenne were returned by the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) to the tribe and re-interred according to traditional burial practices. The Cheyenne repatriation and the reburial of the remains received widespread media coverage. Many other tribal representatives who have visited the NMNH Repatriation Office have seen the film coverage and newspaper accounts that documented the repatriation and consider it a model.

The story, however, did not end there. In August 1996, Cheyenne elders and repatriation representatives called a meeting of traditional and ceremonial leaders and tribal members to voice their concerns about repatriating the 36 burial objects from Fort Larned, Kansas, including the heavy trade blankets and several buffalo calf robes and hides. The items deposited with the child would have undoubtedly been highly prized given the circumstances of the times, with the Cheyenne tribe facing extreme hardship, deprivation, and the coming winter cold. The modern Cheyenne representatives knew these objects would be reburied or burned upon their repatriation to the tribe. Therefore, they questioned whether this act would be the best way to uphold their people's values and pass them on to the next generation. Connie Hart Yellowman, former Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes Supreme Court Judge and deputy director of the Cultural Center, expressed her sentiment this way:

> Think of the sacrifice that [the child's] burial represents...the Cheyenne couldn't go out and buy new blankets. Those things show how much our people loved that child. There's nothing I could do today to equal what they did for her...I do not want to be part of the generation that is part of the destruction of these objects. For nearly 130 years, no Cheyenne saw [these objects]. And I've learned so much from them. A hundred and thirty years from now, this Cheyenne child's burial

On December 5, 1996, in a quiet, moving ceremony, Gordon Yellowman, on behalf of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, and then-Museum Director Robert W. Fri signed an unprecedented document, stating that the "36 burial objects of Cheyenne origin in the Museum's collections are to be retained by the Museum for preservation, and for research and education to be conducted by scholars and the Cheyenne people." The agreement further stated that any publication of photographs or exhibition of the objects required the written consent of the designated Cheyenne representatives (see Appendix Three, Bray 2001). The museum is currently working with tribal representatives on a proposed exhibit of the objects.

The Cheyenne story recounted at the beginning of this chapter is an unusual one but each of the Smithsonian repatriations that have taken place in the last 12 years has had its own unique story. In 1991, soon after the first repatriation law was passed, the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Smithsonian Institution established a Repatriation Office at the National Museum of Natural History. Today the NMNH has the most active repatriation program in the nation. Of the museum's original count of approximately 32,000 sets of human skeletal remains, about half were Native American.

In the last several years, extensive information regarding these collections has been provided to the approximately 500 federally-recognized tribes in the lower 48 states, 300 Alaska Native villages and corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations. Information on the human remains and archaeological objects were organized by state, county, and site location and consisted of object name, count, collector, date acquired by the museum, and tribal affiliation, when noted in the museum records. Information on the ethnological objects was organized by tribe and included object name, location, collector name, a brief background on the collector, and date acquired by the museum.

As outlined in legislation passed by the U.S. Congress, a tribe must submit a claim to the museum in order to initiate a repatriation. The Repatriation Office staff then conducts research using multiple lines of evidence, including biological, geographical, historical (both written and oral), genealogical, archaeological, linguistic, folkloric, ethnological, and archival. Expert opinion or any other relevant information can be used to evaluate the claim, and all the evidence is then summarized in a report. In order for the human remains to be recommended for repatriation, they must be culturally affiliated with the requesting tribe. Objects must also be affiliated with the requesting tribe and must fit the definitions of funerary object, sacred object, or object of cultural patrimony. The report that documents the repatriation assessment is sent to the tribal representatives and becomes part of the museum's permanent record.

Signing of Funerary Object Agreement between the Southern Cheyenne and NMNH.

Repatriations 1991-2003

To date, the human remains of approximately 3,600 individuals and thousands of objects have been offered for repatriation to 84 tribes. Forty-eight repatriations have been completed, resulting in the return of the remains of approximately 3,300 individuals to 48 different tribes. In addition, 87,000 archaeological objects have been returned to 20 tribes during 13 repatriations, and 159 ethnological objects were returned to 10 tribes in 10 repatriations.

The remains of approximately 300 additional individuals have been offered for repatriation to 31 tribes, and we await decisions by the tribes on how they wish to proceed. The museum currently has 18 pending claims from 30 tribes to address. In the next year the museum will complete the reports that respond to seven of these claims in which the repatriation status of 1,500 individuals and 20,000 archaeological objects are evaluated. As new claims arrive at the museum, they will be addressed in the order in which they have been received. The tribes have no deadlines to make repatriation claims; repatriation will continue into the future.

The Repatriation Office has hosted more than 250 visits by tribal representatives to the museum to discuss repatriation, to examine collections and records, and to repatriate human remains and objects. Sixty-four of the visits have been supported by grants sponsored by the outside Repatriation Review Committee. This review committee is an independent, congressionally-mandated outside group of seven members (including two Native traditional religious leaders), which is advisory to the Secretary of the Institution, and monitors the repatriation activities of the Smithsonian, primarily at the Museum of Natural History. The Committee also reviews repatriation disputes.

During the course of their visits to the collections, several tribal representatives expressed concern about the ways in which some sacred, religious, and ceremonial objects were stored by the museum. In response to these concerns, the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

museum now incorporates traditional care in the storage of objects. This may be as simple as changing the orientation of the object or rearranging the storage location so that associated objects are stored together and objects that should not be near each other are separated. Sometimes objects are smudged (traditional cleansing with smoke) and tobacco offerings placed with them.

The Army Medical Museum Collection

Most of the repatriation claims to date have been for the return of human remains, a large majority obtained during archaeological excavations. However, there are remains of individuals whose names are known; some of these remains come from the group of 100 individuals killed during the Indian Wars, between the 1860s and 1880s. They were collected by the Army medical staff for the Army Medical Museum and transferred to the Smithsonian in about 1900. The Army Medical Museum collection continues to be one of great sensitivity. The collection contains about 2,300 sets of remains, many of which date to historic periods and are explicitly identified with regard to cultural origins. The Army Medical Museum was founded in 1862 to perform biomedical and pathological studies on the Civil War dead. At the close of the Civil War, the Army Medical Museum began collecting Native American skeletal remains. By the late 1890s, the museum stopped collecting Native American remains.

Because the Army Medical Museum collection has been of special concern and has special significance to some tribes, return of the remains from this collection has been made a priority. Museum policy prior to the repatriation law was that named individuals would be returned to lineal descendants, but in many cases, no lineal relatives were known. Lineal descendants still have first standing under the repatriation laws.

Ishi

One of the most prominent repatriations for a named individual at the Smithsonian involved Ishi, a Yana Indian from northern California, who was the last member of his tribe to come into direct contact with Americans in 1911. Ishi lived at the University of California's Anthropology Museum for a few years until his death in 1916. After his death, Ishi's brain was removed during an autopsy. Alfred Kroeber, an anthropologist who had worked with Ishi, considered him a valued friend and wanted his remains cremated following Yana tradition. However, Ishi died while Kroeber was away on travel. When he returned, Kroeber found that Ishi had died and had been cremated, his brain had been saved. Not knowing what to do in this unusual situation, Kroeber sent Ishi's brain to the Smithsonian in 1917.

Ishi was often referred to as the last Yana because many in California believed that with his death, all Yana ceased to exist. No family members who would have been able to make a claim for his remains as a lineal descendant are known. The affiliation study by the Repatriation Office found that, contrary to general opinion, the Yana had not ceased to exist with the death of Ishi. While Ishi was the last of the Yana to come into contact with Americans, there were many Yana who had come into contact with the outside world before Ishi, and these individuals had been placed by the United States government on nearby reservations. Today the Yana descendants live among the Pit River Tribe and on the Redding Rancheria in California. Ishi's remains were repatriated to these groups in 1999.

The Cheyenne Case Study

The repatriation of Ishi is but one example of the thousands of human remains that have been repatriated by the museum and all of them have their own histories. It is impossible to present them all here or to even summarize them. The repatriation experience of the Cheyenne, described at the beginning of this chapter, illustrates some of the potential of repatriation and the new ways in which museums are working with Native Americans. The Cheyenne have been leaders in the repatriation process and are by no means typical in their repatriation experiences. Their tribal representatives are very interested in what museum collections reveal of their history and are concerned about the preservation of their heritage. The Cheyenne interactions with the museum have resulted in the repatriation of many human remains. But the positive relationships also have brought about changes

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

in storage conditions of significant cultural objects and development of alternatives to repatriation and reburial of objects.

For example, a buffalo skull used by the Southern Cheyenne in the 1903 Sun Dance ceremony in Oklahoma fits the definition of a sacred object and could have been returned to the tribe if they wished. Instead, because of its ceremonial significance, the skull was removed from exhibit upon the request of the Cheyenne Sundance Priests. The Cheyenne representatives then elected to leave the skull at the museum because it is so fragile but asked that it be specially stored in an upside-down position. In consultation with Cheyenne tribal representatives, a special base was constructed by the conservation staff to support the skull. To cover the buffalo skull, a 12-sided box with 12 painted panels that symbolizes the shape of the Sun Dance lodge is being designed by Cheyenne artist Gordon Yellowman, in consultation with the repatriation and museum staff. The buffalo skull will now be stored in the museum collections in a way that the Cheyenne representatives and Sundance Priests have deemed appropriate.

Further Consultation

The Repatriation Office staff has become a source of expertise for tribal representatives to consult about the repatriation process beyond the Smithsonian. Often this may involve discussion of the law or the identification of the sources of archival records and expert opinion. The staff of the Repatriation Office has become very knowledgeable in assessing affiliation through the study of the skeletal remains. This expertise is available on a limited basis to tribal representatives if they wish an assessment of human remains that are not part of the Smithsonian collections. For example, Cheyenne tribal representatives have asked the Repatriation Office staff to examine for their cultural affiliation the skeletal remains of one individual believed to have been killed during the Fort Robinson outbreak in 1879 and two individuals from burials in Montana. These studies are ongoing, and the results will be used by tribal representatives in making decisions on how to proceed in the repatriation process.

Tribes have been considering the proper approaches to repatriation, and many only now are beginning to act. To date, nearly all of the repatriations have resulted in the reburial of human remains and associated funerary objects. From the museum perspective, repatriation has led to the loss of scientifically and historically significant collections, but it has also increased the positive interaction between Native Americans and the museum. Native Americans have shared their knowledge about the objects in the collections, particularly ethnological objects, and this knowledge has been added to the museum's records.

Repatriation now is a major contact point between tribes and the museum. It is an opportunity for both the museum and tribes to not only complete repatriations, but to find common interests that can result in increased knowledge and educational values and opportunities. Museums also hold many Native American collections that will not be subject to repatriation. With much to learn about these collections, it would be a major loss to all if the interactions between museums and tribes ended at repatriation. Dialogues begun during the repatriation process should be the starting point for future positive relationships.

Further Reading

Bieder, Robert E. 1986 *Science Encounters the Indian: A Study of the Early Years of American Ethnology, 1820-1880.* University of Oklahoma Press.

Bray, Tamara, and Thomas W. Killion, eds. 1994 *Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution.* Smithsonian Institution Press.

Flynn, Gillian, and Deborah Hull-Walski. 2001. "Merging Traditional Indigenous Curation Methods with Modern Museum Standards of Care." *Museum Anthropology* 21:31-40.

Gould, Stephen Jay. 1981. *The Mismeasure of Man.* W. W. Norton.

Killion, Thomas W. 2001. "On the Course of Repatriation: Process, Practice, and Progress at the National Museum of Natural History." In *The Future of the Past: Archaeologists, Native Americans, and Repatriation*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, pp. 149-168. Garland Publishing.

(Continued on next page)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Loring, Stephen. 2001. "Repatriation and Community Anthropology: The Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center." In *The Future of the Past: Archaeologists, Native Americans, and Repatriation*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, pp. 185-200. Garland Publishing.

National Museum of Natural History. 1996. "Preserving Cultural Values: Respect for What the Past Can Teach Leads the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma to Seek an Alternative to Repatriation." *Annual Report, National Museum of Natural History*. Smithsonian Institution.

Watkins, Joe. 2000. *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. Altamira Press.

Yellowman, Connie Hart. 1996. "`Naevahoo'ohtseme'—We are Going Back Home: The Cheyenne Repatriation of Human Remains—A Woman's Perspective." *St. Thomas Law Review* 9:103-16.

William T. Billeck is program manager of the Smithsonian Institution's Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History.

❖❖❖

(Refugees, continued from page 10)

Black, Richard, and Koser, Khalid, eds. 1999. *The End of the Refugee Cycle? Refugee Repatriation and Reconstruction*. Berghahn.

Cernea, Michael, and Christopher McDowell. 2000. *Risks and Reconstruction: Experiences of Resettlers and Refugees*. World Bank.

Cohen, Roberta, and Francis Deng. 1998. *Masses In Flight: The Global Crisis of Internal Displacement*. The Brookings Institute.

Colson, Elizabeth. 1971. *The Social Consequences of Resettlement*. Manchester University Press.

Daniel, E.V., and J. Knudsen, eds. *Mistrusting Refugees*. 1995. University of California Press.

Giles,Wenona, Helene Moussa and Van Esterlik, eds. 1996. *Development and Diaspora:Gender and the Refugee Experience*. Artemis Press.

Godziak, Elzbieta M., and Dianne J. Shandy, eds. 2000. *Rethinking Refuge and Displacement: Selected Papers on Refugees and Immigrants Volume VIII*. American Anthropological Association.

Hanes, David W., ed. 1996. *Refugees in America in the 1990s: A Reference Handbook*. Greenwood Press.

Harrell-Bond, Barbara. 1986. *Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees*. Oxford University Press.

Indra, Doreen, ed. 1999. *Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice*. Berghahn.

Krufeld, Ruth M., and Jeffrey L. MacDonald. 1998. *Power, Ethics, and Human Rights: Anthropological Studies of Refugee Research and Action*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Kushner, Tony, and Katharine Knox. 1999. *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National, and Local Perspectives During the Twentieth Century*. Frank Cass.

Loescher, Gil. 1993. *Beyond Charity*. Oxford University Press.

Lubkemann, Stephen C. 2002. "Refugees." In *World at Risk: A Global Issues Sourcebook*, pp. 522-544. CQ Press. [This article, "Refugees," formed the basis for the much shorter *AnthroNotes* essay.]

Malkki, Lisa H. 1995. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology Among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. University of Chicago Press.

Minear, Larry. 2002. *The Humanitarian Enterprise*. Kumarian Press.

UNHCR. 1997. *The State of the World's Refugees: A Humanitarian Agenda*. Oxford University Press.

Van Hear, Nicholas. 1998. *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*. University College London Press.

[A list of journals on refugees is included in the museum's web version of this article.]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AnthroNotes offers in-depth articles on current anthropological research, teaching activities, and reviews of new resources. *AnthroNotes* was originally part of the George Washington University/Smithsonian Institution Anthropology for Teachers Program funded by the National Science Foundation. It is published free-of-charge twice a year.

❖ ❖ ❖

***ANTHRONOTES* has a three part mission:**

1. To more widely disseminate original, recent research in anthropology in order to help readers stay current in the field;

2. To help those teaching anthropology utilize new materials, approaches, and community resources, as well as integrate anthropology into a wide variety of subjects; and

3. To create a national network of anthropologists, archaeologists, teachers, museum and other professionals interested in the wider dissemination of anthropology, particularly in schools.

This publication with its cartoons may be reproduced and distributed free-of-charge by classroom teachers for educational purposes. ***AnthroNotes*** is now available on the WEB: www.nmnh.si.edu/departments/anthro.html

ANTHRONOTES STAFF: P. Ann Kaupp, managing editor; Ruth O. Selig, Alison S. Brooks, JoAnne Lanouette, editors; Robert L. Humphrey, artist; Kathleen Sims, design.
Illustrations, Robert L. Humphrey, © 2002.

HAVE YOU MOVED RECENTLY?

Please don't forget to notify ***AnthroNotes*** editors. If you have not notified us or your forwarding order has expired, the issue is returned marked "Forwarding Order Expired" or the Post Office returns a copy of the back page, discarding the rest of the issue. To keep our expenses down, we will no longer automatically send a second copy of the issue to you. Please help by sending your change of address as soon as possible: email:Anthroutreach@nmnh.si.edu

To be added to the mailing list, write:

Smithsonian Institution
Anthropology Outreach Office, PO Box 37012
NHB 363 MRC 112, Washington DC 20013-7012
email: anthroutreach@nmnh.si.edu

Smithsonian
National Museum of Natural History

Presorted Standard
Postage & Fees Paid
Smithsonian Institution
G-94

Anthropology Outreach Office
National Museum of Natural History
Washington, D.C.

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use $300

Address Service Requested

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

NOTICE

Reproduction Basis

☐ This document is covered by a signed "Reproduction Release (Blanket)" form (on file within the ERIC system), encompassing all or classes of documents from its source organization and, therefore, does not require a "Specific Document" Release form.

☒ This document is Federally-funded, or carries its own permission to reproduce, or is otherwise in the public domain and, therefore, may be reproduced by ERIC without a signed Reproduction Release form (either "Specific Document" or "Blanket").